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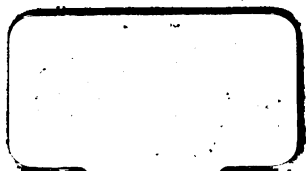
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THE  
**Parliamentary Register;**

OR,

**H I S T O R Y**

OF THE

**PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES**

OF THE

**HOUSE OF COMMONS;**

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF

The most interesting **SPEECHES** and **MOTIONS**; accurate  
Copies of the most remarkable **LETTERS** and **PAPERS**;  
of the most material **EVIDENCE**, **PETITIONS**, &c.  
laid before and offered to the **HOUSE**,

DURING THE

**THIRD SESSION** of the **FOURTEENTH PARLIAMENT**

OF

**G R E A T B R I T A I N,**

---

IN SEVENTEEN VOLUMES.

**VOL. V.**

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# THE HISTORY

## OF THE PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES

### Of the THIRD SESSION of the HOUSE of COMMONS

OF THE  
Fourteenth Parliament of *Great Britain* ;

Appointed to meet at *Westminster*, on *Thursday*, the 31st Day  
of *October* 1776.

**T**HE King opened the session with the following speech :  
*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

Nothing could have afforded me so much satisfaction as to have been able to inform you, at the opening of this session, that the troubles, which have so long distracted my colonies in North America, were at an end ; and that my unhappy people, recovered from their delusion, had delivered themselves from the oppression of their leaders, and returned to their duty : but so daring and desperate is the spirit of those leaders, whose object has always been dominion and power, that they have now openly renounced all allegiance to the crown, and all political connexion with this country ; they have rejected, with circumstances of indignity and insult, the means of conciliation held out to them under the authority of our commission ; and have presumed to set up their rebellious confederacies for independent states. If their treason be suffered to take root, much mischief must grow from it, to the safety of my loyal colonies, to the commerce of my kingdoms, and indeed to the present system of all Europe. One great advantage, however, will be derived from the object of the rebels being openly avowed, and clearly understood ; we shall have unanimity at home, founded in the general conviction of the justice and necessity of our measures.

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I am happy to inform you, that, by the blessing of Divine Providence on the good conduct and valour of my officers and forces by sea and land, and on the zeal and bravery of the auxiliary troops in my service, Canada is recovered; and although, from unavoidable delays, the operations at New York could not begin before the month of August, the success in that province has been so important as to give the strongest hopes of the most decisive good consequences: but, notwithstanding this fair prospect, we must, at all events, prepare for another campaign.

I continue to receive assurances of amity from the several courts of Europe; and am using my utmost endeavours to conciliate the unhappy differences between two neighbouring powers; and I still hope, that all misunderstandings may be removed, and Europe continue to enjoy the inestimable blessings of peace: I think nevertheless, that, in the present situation of affairs, it is expedient that we should be in a respectable state of defence at home.

*Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

I will order the estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you. It is matter of real concern to me, that the important considerations which I have stated to you must necessarily be followed by great expence: I doubt not, however, but that my faithful Commons will readily and cheerfully grant me such supplies, as the maintenance of the honour of my crown, the vindication of the just rights of Parliament, and the public welfare, shall be found to require.

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

In this arduous contest I can have no other object but to promote the true interest of all my subjects. No people ever enjoyed more happiness, or lived under a milder government, than those now revolted provinces: the improvements in every art, of which they boast, declare it; their numbers, their wealth, their strength by sea and land, which they think sufficient to enable them to make head against the whole power of the mother-country, are irrefragable proofs of it. My desire is to restore to them the blessings of law and liberty, equally enjoyed by every British subject, which they have fatally and desperately exchanged for all the calamities of war, and the arbitrary tyranny of their chiefs.

Mr. Neville moved, that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to return his Majesty the thanks of this House for his most gracious speech from the throne:

To

To assure his Majesty, that, while we lament the continuance of the troubles which have so long distracted his colonies in North America, and of the calamities and oppressions which our unhappy fellow-subjects are still suffering, under the arbitrary tyranny of their leaders, we cannot forbear to express our detestation and abhorrence of the audacious and desperate spirit of ambition, which has at last carried those leaders so far as openly to renounce all allegiance to the crown, and all political connexion with this country; and, in direct terms, to presume to set up their rebellious confederacies for independent states:

That we consider their rejection of the gracious and condescending means of reconciliation, held out to them under the authority of his Majesty's commission, as a fresh and convincing proof that the object of these men has always been power and dominion; but we can impute the circumstances of indignity and insult accompanying this proceeding, to no other motive than a resentment of his Majesty's firm and constant adherence to the maintenance of the constitutional rights of Parliament, divested of every possible view of any separate interests of the crown: and to assure his Majesty, that the same attachment of his Majesty to the parliamentary authority of Great Britain, which hath provoked the insolence of the chiefs of this rebellion, cannot but operate, as it ought to do, in fixing his Majesty still deeper, if possible, in the affections of a British House of Commons:

With reverence and gratitude to Divine Providence, to express our unfeigned joy, and to offer our sincere congratulations to his Majesty, on the success which has attended the good conduct and valour of his Majesty's officers and forces, both by sea and land, and the zeal and bravery of the auxiliary troops in his service, in the recovery of Canada, and in the important operations in the province of New York, which give the strongest hopes of the most decisive good consequences:

To assure his Majesty, that we learn, with much satisfaction, that his Majesty continues to receive assurances of amity from the several courts of Europe; and that we thankfully acknowledge his Majesty's goodness and paternal concern for the happiness of his people, in his constant attention to preserve the general tranquillity; and that it is our most earnest wish, that, by his Majesty's interposition, all misunderstandings and differences between two neighbouring powers may

may be happily reconciled, and Europe still enjoy the blessings of peace :

That we consider it as a duty we owe to his Majesty, and to those we represent, to grant his Majesty such supplies as the weighty considerations which his Majesty has been pleased to state to us, shall be found to require ; and we have a well-grounded confidence, that at this time, when the object of the rebels is openly avowed, and clearly understood, the general conviction of the justice and necessity of his Majesty's measures must unite all ranks of his faithful subjects in supporting his Majesty with one mind and heart in the great national cause in which he is engaged.

Mr. *Hatton* seconded the motion.

Lord *John Cavendish* disapproved of the proposed address, and moved the following amendment : To assure his Majesty, that animated with the most earnest and sincere zeal for his true interest, and the real glory of his reign, we behold with inexpressible concern, the minds of a very large, and lately loyal and affectionate part of his people entirely alienated from his government ; nor can we conceive that such an event as the disaffection and revolt of a whole people, could have taken place, without some considerable errors in the conduct observed towards them.

These erroneous measures, we conceive, are to be imputed to a want of sufficient information being laid before Parliament, and to too large a degree of confidence being reposed in those ministers, who from their duty were obliged, and from their official situation were best enabled to know the temper and disposition of his Majesty's American subjects, and were therefore presumed most capable of pointing out such measures as might produce the most salutary effects. Hence the schemes which were formed for the reduction and chastisement of a supposed inconsiderable party of factious men, have driven thirteen large provinces to despair. Every act which has been proposed as a means of procuring peace and submission, has become a new cause of war and revolt ; and we now find ourselves almost inextricably involved in a bloody and expensive civil war ; which, besides exhausting at present the strength of all his Majesty's dominions, exposing our allies to the designs of their and our enemies, and leaving this kingdom in a most perilous situation, threatens, in its issue, the most deplorable calamities to the whole British race.

We



We cannot avoid lamenting, that in consequence of the credit given to the representation of ministers, no hearing has been given to the reiterated complaints and petitions of the colonies, neither has any ground been laid for removing the original cause of these unhappy differences, which took their rise from questions relative to parliamentary proceedings, and can be settled only by parliamentary authority.

By this fatal omission, the commissioners nominated for the apparent purpose of making peace, were furnished with no legal powers, but that of giving or withholding pardons at their pleasure, and that for relaxing the severities of a single penal act of Parliament; leaving the whole foundation of this unhappy controversy just as it stood in the beginning.

To represent to his Majesty, that in addition to this neglect, when, in the beginning of the last session, his Majesty, in his gracious speech to both Houses of Parliament, declared his resolution of sending out commissioners for the purposes therein expressed, "as speedily as possible," no such commissioners were sent until seven months afterwards, and until the nation was alarmed by the evacuation of the only town then held by his Majesty in the thirteen colonies. By this delay, acts of the most critical nature, the effects of which must as much depend on the power of immediately relaxing them on submission, as in enforcing them upon disobedience, had only an operation to inflame and exasperate. But if any colony, town, or place, had been induced to submit by the terrors of these acts, there were none on the place of power to restore the people so submitting to the common rights of subjection. The inhabitants of the colonies, apprized that they were put out of the protection of government, and seeing no means provided for their entering into it, were furnished with reasons but too colourable for breaking off their dependency on the crown of this kingdom.

To assure his Majesty, that, removing our confidence from those who in so many instances have grossly abused it, we shall endeavour to restore to Parliament the confidence of all his people. To this end, it may be advisable to make a more minute inquiry into the grievances of the colonies, as well as into the conduct of ministers with regard to them. We may think it proper particularly to inquire how it has happened, that the commerce of this kingdom has been left exposed to the reprisals of the colonies, at the very time when their seamen and fishermen, being indiscriminately prohibited from the peaceful exercise of their occupations, and declared open enemies, must be expected, with a certain assu-

rance, to betake themselves to plunder, and to wreak their revenge on the commerce of Great Britain.

That we understand, that amidst the many disasters and disgraces which have attended on his Majesty's arms in many parts of America, an advantage has been gained by his Majesty's British and foreign mercenary forces, in the province of New York. That if a wise, moderate, and provident use be made of this advantage, it is not improbable that happy effects may result from that use. And we assure his Majesty, that nothing shall be wanting on our part, to enable his Majesty to take full advantage of any dispositions to reconciliation which may be the consequence of the miseries of war, by laying down, on our part, real permanent grounds of connexion between Great Britain and her colonies, on principles of liberty and terms of mutual advantage.

That whilst we lament this effusion of English blood (which we hope has not been greater, or other than necessity required and honour justified), we should most heartily congratulate his Majesty on any event leading to the great desirable end, of settling a peace which might promise to last, by the restoration of the ancient affection which has happily subsisted in former times between this kingdom and its colonies. Any other would necessarily require (even in case of a total conquest) an army to maintain it, ruinous to the finances, and incompatible with the freedom of his Majesty's people. We should look with the utmost shame and horror, on any events that should tend to break the spirit of any large part of the British nation; to bow them to an abject unconditional submission to any power whatsoever; to annihilate their liberties, and to subdue them to servile principles and passive habits, by the mere force of foreign mercenary arms; because, amidst the excesses and abuses which have happened, we must respect the spirit and principles operating in these commotions. Our wish is to regulate, not to destroy them; for, though differing in some circumstances, those very principles evidently bear so exact an analogy with those which support the most valuable part of our own constitution, that it is impossible, with any appearance of justice, to think of wholly extirpating them by the sword, in any part of his Majesty's dominions, and establishing precedents the most dangerous to the liberties of this kingdom.

The Marquis of *Granby* seconded the motion.

Governor *Johnstone* in very severe terms arraigned the conduct of administration, in commencing the war with America.

rica. He said the affair of Long Island was by no means a matter worthy of triumph. That island, he said, was a mere outpost to New York, as New York was an outpost to America; and it would have been folly and rashness in the extreme, had the provincials attempted to maintain it. He paid General Howe and his brother very great compliments on their manœuvres in the capture of the island, and inferred from the whole of General Howe's conduct in taking it, his caution in not forcing any of the provincials' strongholds, his opening trenches at six hundred yards distance from their redoubts, with his general orders to his officers to act with all possible circumspection, that most evidently the General thought highly of the provincials, and had therefore treated them with the suitable respect due to so powerful and formidable an enemy. He complained of the defenceless state of the kingdom, and urged the danger of a war with France and Spain. The minister's speech he declared to be an entire compound of hypocrisy. It made his Majesty talk of peace, at the very moment when not only all Europe, but this kingdom, gave the most evident appearances of preparation for war. In short, it was like a deceptive mirror, reflecting a false image of truth. That part of it which talked of giving the Americans law and liberty, he conceived to be a mere turn of wit and humour, which would not bear a serious interpretation. It was an insidious hypocritical speech, that held out law and liberty at the point of the sword. He spoke strongly of the falsehood of France, and the little reliance that was to be put on her professions, instancing a circumstance which happened while Cardinal Mazarine was minister, when the Portuguese and Spaniards were at war together, and the latter had received repeated assurances of the pacific intentions of France, although that kingdom had actually lent Portugal troops, clothed them, paid them, and officered them. He said he did not entirely approve of the American declaration of independence, but affirmed that the Americans were driven to that measure by our rigorous persecution of them. We had hired foreign troops to fight against them, and they had no other way of putting themselves on a footing with us, than by throwing off the yoke, declaring themselves independent, and inviting foreign aid to defend them. They had, he said, taken every possible means to avoid such a measure; they had sent a most humble petition to government, praying relief, and couched their prayer in the strongest terms of duty and allegiance;

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government

government had, with the most provoking harshness, rejected their petition, refusing to give any answer to it, or offering in any manner to hear them. The mode of their declaring for independency was, to be sure, in some measure indefensible. The declaration of the New England government was exceedingly rude and ill-written; the language was more unmannerly and abusive than even worse treatment than what they had received would have justified; but then it must be considered as written merely to captivate the common people, and therefore a polished style, and very scrupulous decency, were probably but trifling objects with the writer. He however as much condemned it, as he applauded that of the Pennsylvanians. He censured the late issuing of press-warrants, and declared that he was not only convinced a better mode of manning the navy might be found out, but that he was well informed the late press was carried on with great irregularity and cruelty.

Mr. *Wombwell* said, no press was better conducted than the present. He approved of the motion for an address as exceedingly proper, and disapproved of the amendment. He censured the Americans as a bragging, cowardly banditti, &c.

Mr. *Wilkes*. The honourable gentleman who spoke last endeavours to mislead the House. It is certain that no pressing has at this time been carried on in the city of London, or its liberties. No press-gangs have dared to make their appearance in that jurisdiction. Those lawless bands of cruel banditti very prudently chose other scenes of horror and bloodshed of less danger to themselves. The city has hitherto remained in perfect safety and tranquillity, in a most happy state of security, by the vigilance, intrepidity, and noble love of liberty, which are conspicuous in its present worthy chief magistrate.

The conduct of administration, Sir, in the late issuing of press-warrants, before they had tried the operation of the high bounty, is totally unjustifiable. The speech now in your hand, Sir, is so very pacific, that the large bounty of five pounds for every able, and fifty shillings for every ordinary seaman, promised in last Saturday's Gazette, might safely, for a short time at least, have been trusted to, the emergency not being thought very critical. From the minister's own state of public affairs there was no danger in the experiment. Much cruelty and bloodshed had been avoided, many valuable lives preserved.

The

The affair of Long Island has been misrepresented, and greatly magnified. The superiority of numbers was very considerable. General Howe landed 22,000 men. The provincials had only 6000 effective men on that island. They were ordered to retreat, and 4000 did accordingly, without being attacked, embark for the island of New York. There was a real mistake of orders as to the other 2000, but they acted as brave men always will act under a mistake of orders; they fought. They saw the enemy, left their entrenchments, and attacked with spirit. From the superiority of numbers, and their flanks being neglected and unguarded, they were totally defeated. They did not however remain inactive, like cowards, on an important day of battle. No such imputation can be fixed on them. Nothing decisive can follow from the late successful affair on Long Island, any more than from the defeat at Sullivan's Island. New York will probably fall into your hands, but your situation will in that case be scarcely mended since the last year, for you then possessed the capital of North America, Boston. Is that great and important town advantageously exchanged for New York? I forgot that we still possess the fishing hamlet of Halifax. But, Sir, we ought to take a much larger and more comprehensive view of this interesting scene, which is now fully disclosed.

The important dispute of Great Britain with her colonies has for a considerable time fixed the attention, not only of this nation, but of almost all Europe. The most essential interests of this country, and indeed of the greater part of the powers on the continent, are deeply interested in the event. The sacrifice of so much blood and treasure is to every state an object of the highest importance; to us, whose empire seems mouldering away, of the nearest concern; and I much fear we are now brought by inextricable difficulties to the very verge of destruction.

Since our last meeting, Sir, the scene, with respect to America, has totally changed. Instead of negotiations with colonies, or provincial assemblies, we have a war to carry on against the free and independent states of America; a wicked war, which has been occasioned solely by a spirit of violence, injustice, and obstinacy in our ministers, unparalleled in history. In the beginning of September in the last year, a very humble and dutiful petition was sent from the Congress to his Majesty, in which his Majesty was supplicated "to direct some mode, by which the united applications of  
his

his faithful colonists to the throne, in pursuance of their common councils, may be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation." There was not a word in the petition but what breathed submission and loyalty; and yet the official answer of Lord Dartmouth, the secretary for the American department, after long deliberation, was to the last degree irritating. It was, "that no answer would be given;" that is, We will not treat, we scorn to negotiate with you, we exact unconditional submission. This answer, Sir, in my opinion, might justly be called indignity and insult. It drove the Americans to despair, and with the violation of the perfidious promises in Lord Hillsborough's famous official circular letter, laid the real foundation of their declaration of independency. Much has been said, Sir, of the prophecy of the ministers, that the Americans would in the end declare themselves independent. I give the ministers no credit for such a prophecy. They went on the surest grounds. They might very safely promulgate such a prediction, when they knew that the unjust and sanguinary measures which they intended to pursue, must bring about the event. They drove the Americans into their present state of independency. The Jesuits in France risked nothing when they prophesied in 1610 the death of the best prince that ever reigned in Europe, within that year. Theirs was the sure word of prophecy. They employed Ravillac to assassinate their sovereign.

An honourable gentleman near me attacks the American declaration of independency, in a very peculiar manner, as a wretched composition, very ill written, drawn up with the view to captivate the people. That, Sir, is the very reason why I approve it most as a composition, as well as a wise, political measure; for the people are to decide this great controversy. If they are captivated by it, the end is attained. The polished periods, the harmonious, happy expressions, with all the grace, ease, and elegance of a beautiful diction, which we chiefly admire, captivate the people of America very little; but manly nervous sense they relish, even in the most awkward and uncouth dress of language. Whatever composition produces the effect you intend in the most forcible manner, is, in my opinion, the best; and that mode should always be pursued. It has the most merit, as well as success, on the great theatre of the world, no less than on the stage, whether you mean to inspire pity, terror, or any other passion.

The

The honourable gentleman, Sir, who seconded the address, says, the Americans' declaration of independency was no surprise to him—nor I believe, Sir, to any man of common reflection, after the frantic and extravagant career, which administration pursued, with a full chorus of approbation from the majority of this House.

The speech in your hand, Sir, which an honourable gentleman near me has well called a speech of hypocrisy, mentions the "assurances of amity, which his Majesty continues to receive from the several courts of Europe." At the beginning of the last session, the minister gave us in the King's speech more explicit assurances. It was said, "I am happy to add, as well from the assurances I have received, as from the general appearance of affairs in Europe, I see no probability that the measures which you may adopt, will be interrupted by disputes with any foreign power." We have no such assurances held out to us this year, that our measures will not be interrupted by disputes with any other foreign power; but we have still assurances of amity, which are daily contradicted by the immense preparations of the neighbouring foreign powers of France and Spain, and indeed of the whole house of Bourbon. The accounts from Naples contain little but the vast preparations making by the king of the Two Sicilies. Are we indeed simple and credulous enough to trust to general vague expressions of politeness against the clear evidence of facts? Our ministry know very well that an American privateer being lately stopped at Bilbao in Biscay, an express was immediately dispatched to Madrid, which returned with the fullest directions for the release of the privateer, and permission to furnish him with provisions, stores, ammunition, in short, whatever he wanted. This fact will not be denied. Is Spain then one of the foreign powers, which again soothes us with these honeyed assurances of amity? Has fate ordained, that we are neither to possess capacity enough to profit by the example of others, nor even by our own experience? In the very first year of the present reign, in September 1761, the Gazette told us, that "the Catholic king had at no time been more intent upon cultivating a good correspondence with England, than in the present conjuncture; a declaration received seriously here, held out as part of the court creed, and laughed at by all the rest of Europe. In the beginning of the following January, without any new facts having occurred of any moment, war was declared by  
England

England against Spain. Will the plausible, smooth-tongued French likewise be able to lull us into a fatal security against the evidence of all history? Can we expect to be treated by them in any other manner than the Spaniards were at the time of the famous revolt of Portugal? The French sent whole regiments, completely officered, into the service of the house of Braganza. They paid them underhand the same as their national troops, yet all the while declared their abhorrence of rebellions and of rebels, issuing proclamation after proclamation, and recalling their deserters under the most severe penalties. Sir, there is not a power in Europe, unsubsidized by Great Britain, which does not wish success to the Americans; and we are considered almost every where on the continent, in the odious light of tyrants and oppressors.

The speech, Sir, states, that "if treason be suffered to take root, much mischief must grow from it to the safety of my loyal colonies." Alas! Sir, what we call treason and rebellion, and they just resistance and a glorious resolution, has taken root, a very deep root indeed, and has spread over almost all the American colonies. In this very speech we are told of their numbers, their wealth, their strength by sea and land. The loyal colonies are three, the free provinces thirteen. In laying on the embargo, the exception to the rule is ridiculous enough. It is as thirteen to three. The Gazette says, "any of my colonies in North America, except the colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the three low counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia." Of what other colonies was his Majesty in possession at his accession to the throne? I think the permission extends only to the provinces which we have not yet lost, to the two Roman Catholic provinces of Canada and Florida, and to Nova Scotia.

We have now been carrying on for two years a savage and piratical, as well as an unjust war. Every demand of government has been complied with, and yet the great force employed both by sea and land has not hitherto recovered a single province of all the confederated colonies. On the contrary, the evil grows more desperate. The last year only twelve colonies humbly petitioned the throne. This year, by the accession of Georgia, we have seen a federal union of thirteen free and powerful provinces asserting their independency



independency as high and mighty states, and setting our power at defiance. This was done with circumstances of spirit and courage, to which posterity will do justice. It was directly after the safe landing of your whole force. In return we have barbarously plundered their coasts, and set fire to their open towns and defenceless villages, in a manner which disgraces the English name. In the midst of all the cruelties, terrors, and devastations, which follow your arms, the spirit of the Americans is still unsubdued; and I hope, and believe, you never will conquer the free spirit of the descendants of Englishmen, exerted in an honest cause. They honour and value the blessings of liberty. They are determined to live and die freemen, notwithstanding the vain efforts of every arbitrary power in Europe. It is a foolish attempt to think of conquering and holding the immense territory of North America, when the whole country is united against us. We argue in a trifling manner on the decisive good consequences of events only in the province of New York. They do not prove that we shall subdue Virginia, or either of the Carolinas. Success in two or three battles or sieges, argues little for the final success of a war, so extensive already, and so greatly complicated.

As to our unanimity at home, Sir, the very idea is absurd, because impossible, while the present system of injustice and oppression continues in its full rigour. The American war is unjust and unconstitutional in its first principle, and, if persisted in, must end in our ruin. We have neither force to conquer, nor strength to maintain; such extensive conquests, if we could succeed. Our situation is become truly critical. The constitution of this country is at home fapped by bribery and corruption: on the other side of the Atlantic it is assailed by violence and force of arms. The too fatal success in this devoted nation is very evident; but in the new world, I trust, as a friend of mankind, that all the despotic measures of a tyrannical administration will prove ineffectual. It is impossible for this island to conquer and hold America. They are determined and united. Your fleets may indeed every year carry horror through all their coast; your armies may possess some sea-port towns; but the numerous and greatly increasing people of the provinces will retire into the interior parts, of which you have already had some experience. Peaceful towns and villages will cover their fruitful plains, liberty will fix her blest abode among them,

them, the unmolested, happy inhabitants rejoicing that they are *procul à Jove, procul à fulmine*.

I heartily agree, Sir, with the noble Lord in the amendment proposed; but I go farther, and my opinion is, that, if we expect to save the empire, to preserve, even for a short period, Canada or the West India islands, or to recover any part of the immense territory we have lately lost, we must recall our fleets and armies, repeal all the acts injurious to the Americans passed since 1763, and restore their charters. We may then, if they will forgive, and can trust us, treat with them on just, fair, and equal terms, without the idea of compulsion, and a foundation be laid for the restoration of peace, internal tranquillity and unity to this convulsed and dismembered empire.

Hon. *Temple Luttrell*. He said that he so very widely differed in opinion from the honourable member on the other side of the House, who moved the ministerial address, in commendation of his Majesty's speech delivered from the throne, that he should feel himself highly culpable, were he to sit still till the close of the debate, and content himself to be numbered with the silent votes in its disfavour; there was, however, no doubt of its being carried by a large majority; for those court-retainers and dependants on government, who had this campaign reaped a golden harvest from the calamities of their country, would see in the speech under consideration, the best earnest that could possibly be given of a no less plentiful harvest of the same sort the ensuing summer. As for his part, he construed this speech, an infamous groundless libel, fabricated by a tyrannical faction, against some of the most valuable members of the British community, who, actuated by principles of justice and honour, were nobly contending on the other side of the Atlantic, for the dearest rights of mankind; and who, limiting their resistance to a redress of real and essential grievances, were falsely accused of having, from the beginning of this unhappy contest, had no other object in view than anarchy and independence.

It was a custom among the ancient Persians (in later times adopted in the kingdom of Naples) to cover their tribunals of justice with the skins of corrupt lawyers, whom they flayed alive—were a similar example to prevail within these walls, and the seats around us to be clothed with the skins of corrupt statesmen, I fear, Sir, there are not a few gentlemen on your right-hand would catch their deaths of cold before the end

end of the approaching winter : I should tremble this night for a long group of pensioners, contractors, paymasters, treasurers, &c. &c. who will walk forth into that lobby, in order to bring up an address to their sovereign, beseeching that he will persevere to plunder and assassinate his subjects, and totally to extinguish the vital spirit of that free constitution, on the maintenance of which alone, rests his claim to the throne of these realms.

The honourable member near me [Governor Johnstone] has justly observed, that "the address moved for by government is an echo of the speech" imposed on their royal master : it occurs to me, Sir, that the speech itself is, in many of its most striking passages, an echo to the continental remonstrances, and declarations of independency—for instance—" *They have rejected, with insult and indignity, every offer of accommodation ;*" this is verbatim the charge brought against the mother-country by the oppressed colonists. *They* likewise declare, that "it would be rash to put an end to their plan, when they have every reason to pursue it ;"—that "*it is a contest of the last importance*"—" *a war, not of ambition, but necessity*"—Good God, Sir ! state this argument, on our part, in other language, without perverting the sense, and it will stand thus—You are *ambitious* to maintain the rights of free-born Britons, and 'tis *necessary* we should have an army of foreign assassins, and use every barbarity to render them slaves. *Omnipotence* on one side, Sir, *must* imply slavery on the other.

When news was brought to Agesilaus, king of Sparta, during a civil war in Greece, that a bloody fight had happened near the city of Corinth, but that the Spartans were victorious, and the number of their troops killed was but inconsiderable, compared with the loss of the enemy, instead of exultations of joy, that wise and humane monarch, with a deep sigh, cried out, "Oh, unhappy Greece ! to have slain so many of thy best warriors with thine own hand, who, had they lived, might have proved a match for all the barbarians in the world !" I am credibly informed, Sir, that when our most gracious sovereign received news of the unhappy conflict at Long Island, he broke forth in an exclamation of a like philosophic and generous nature, lamenting, that Great Britain should destroy so many of her brave men with her own hand, who, had they lived in mutual concord and amity, might have set at defiance the united force of our natural enemies, the Bourbon states, at this hour threatening us with

an invasive war. Confident as I was, that such ideas perfectly coincided with his Majesty's known humanity of heart, and tenderness towards *all* his people, I did not conceive it possible that the most flagitious minister of the bloody junto would dare to advise a continuance of these disgraceful and ruinous measures, and propose a speech from the throne, evidently dictated by despotism, hypocrisy, and insatiation. I, Sir, entertained hopes of healing propositions, and a timely dereliction, on the part of this country, of its unjustifiable and empty claim of *taxation*; that efficient cause of the civil war, and which, if made an irrefragable ultimatum of your terms of peace, cannot fail to accelerate the downfall of your empire. For the Commons of Great Britain to support so desperate a purpose at the point of the sword; at the present alarming crisis too; the French and Spaniards preparing for a rupture; and the nation sinking under an enormous debt of 150,000,000, argues folly in us beneath the *unlettered* Parliament, madness beyond the *insane* Parliament, and a blood-thirsty spirit of enterprise above any of the proscribing, chivalrous Parliaments, under the worst of the Plantagenet tyrants. I may, perhaps, be told, as I was last year, when I took the liberty to move an address to the King, to instruct the commissioners in America to treat for peace with the provincial conventions, or general continental congress, that bodies of men under denominations not formally legalized, can, in no possible situation of things, expect a public recognition of their authority; nor can you treat with rebels while they have arms in their hands. From what knowledge of men or books is this state-maxim derived? I defy any of the learned gentlemen over the way to instance any intestine commotion, from the beginning of the world to this moment, of equal magnitude and maturity with that of America, where such wild doctrines have been maintained. In support of directly opposite measures and policy, without recurring to æras very remote, or troubling the House with stale pedantic researches, I shall beg leave to remind you of one or two remarkable precedents from modern history, where the proudest and most perverse potentates in Christendom have been taught an humbler and more rational lesson; and I mean to hold up *in terrorem*, their obstinate tyranny, and the calamities resulting from it, to themselves and their dominions, that these *aliena pericula* may serve for beacons to preserve us from a similar fate.

About

About the year 1617, the Bohemians having suffered extreme oppression, met in convention, and set forth their grievances to the Emperor (Matthias); answer was made, that nothing had been done on the part of the court of Vienna, that was contrary to the Imperial edicts and resolutions of the states of the Empire; certain judges were commissioned by the Emperor (as King of Bohemia) to grant *general, or particular pardons*; but these persons having treated the remonstrants with much harshness and indignity, were thrown headlong from a two pair of stairs window on the stone pavement of the castle-yard. The Bohemians then constituted thirty directors of their nation, and took up arms, publishing a manifesto to the several powers of Europe, in which they maintained the equity of their cause. An army of 30,000 men took the field, under a great hero of that day (the name, Sir, will probably carry with it a striking sound to your ear, as a champion for the liberties of the people), Count *Mansfeldt*. Soon after this civil war broke out, the Emperor gave authority to the Duke of Bavaria, the Elector of Saxony, the Elector of Mentz, and several other illustrious personages, to negotiate a peace with the malcontents; thus much for the punctilious idea of not condescending to treat with rebels. The difficulty of the times increased to such a degree the distraction of the Emperor's mind, already agitated with the pangs of a recent domestic misfortune, that he resigned altogether the regal dignity, and soon after died; leaving to his successor a war of twenty-eight years, one of the most rancorous and bloody on the records of history. The Bohemians offered their crown to the Elector Palatine (Frederick V.); ancestor in the female line of our most gracious sovereign George the Third, the chief of whose electoral house, the Duke of Brunswick, hazarded his life and dominions, and actually lost an arm in upholding the oppressed Bohemians. The Parliament of England cheerfully voted supplies to maintain their revolt, upon a principle worthy the representatives of a free and generous nation; that tyrannical mandates, a violation of charter rights, and unconstitutional imposts, had dissolved the bands of submission from the subjects towards the sovereign, and left them at liberty to create a new government. A regiment of 2000 British soldiers; among which were many volunteers of the highest birth and character, embarked on this popular service, under one of the Vere family; while the Archbishop of Canterbury, convinced of the godliness of their battle, gave

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them his solemn and sacred benediction. Another precedent, in my humble opinion, well worth observance, to establish the expediency of treating with insurgents, though embodied in the field and bearing arms, may be found in reading the civil wars of Hungary, begun about a century ago, by a violation, in the Emperor Leopold, of the laws and privileges of that spirited nation, and the inhuman butchery of those truly patriotic leaders, Counts Serini and Nadasti. The first notable achievements on the side of the Emperor, in the field of battle, were performed by a Colonel Heister, followed by endeavours to establish a military dominion throughout Hungary; this brought on an almost unanimous revolt of the people. In 1678 an ineffectual congress was held for pacification between the Hungarians and their sovereign.—Conferences—proposals—suspension of hostilities, without avail, till the Emperor *making certain concessions*, a truce was agreed to in 1681. The war, however, was revived the year after, with a printed declaration that Leopold having violated the fundamental laws of the constitution, was fallen from his throne and authority, and Emeric, Count Sekeli, elected King of Hungary, to whom, in a few campaigns, Heister (now become a general) abandoned the whole principality of Transylvania. Upon the death of Leopold, the Emperor Joseph made proposals to the enemy, which were rejected. In 1709, several prisoners were massacred in cool blood, by both parties; in which year, a diet assembled at Presburg, to accommodate matters between the Emperor and the revolters, but that diet being composed of the Emperor's partisans only, Ragozzi (commander of the malcontents), though invited by a safe-conduct, refused to come, and forbade any Hungarians to repair thither, under pain of being considered as enemies to their country. The envoys from the courts of Great Britain and the United Provinces made several fruitless attempts to mediate a reconciliation.—The Imperial ministers (say the writers of these transactions) were, in fact, averse from treaty, hoping to aggrandize themselves by the contest, and grow rich from a confiscation of the estates of the Hungarians; however, in 1711, the court of Vienna found it expedient to dispatch a public minister in form to the *rebel* army (as it was called), to negotiate a peace, which was at length accomplished, after the civil war had raged, with short intermissions, for near half a century, with the destruction of about half a million of subjects; the Emperor stipulating to preserve inviolate for the

the future, the rights, immunities, and liberties of Hungary. I would observe, upon a view of these tragic scenes, that mankind in the mass of society are, in all ages and countries, actuated by nearly the same passions; and the same radical evils in the body politic cause similar convulsions and risk of dissolution. Without consulting false pretenders to augury, without preternatural divination, you may, Sir, perceive a gloomy series of misfortunes hanging over these realms, from the progress of our intestine warfare, equal to what befell either of those unhappy nations I have just spoken of.—For my part, Sir, I own I should be glad to compound for an issue to our quarrel with the colonists, as little destructive to the human species, and as little decisive of the general destiny of the kingdom, as those civil broils in Hungary or Bohemia; but I fear a still more awful doom awaits us.

The force and prosperity of every nation depends, in great measure, on its populousness. “The Romans (says a learned author) destroying others, were at length themselves destroyed; continually in action, and embarked in the most hazardous attempts, they wore out, like a weapon kept constantly in use.” Whoever will duly reflect on the state and transactions of this our nation, within the last twenty years, will find her much reduced in number of inhabitants; not only from the effects of the late war, but from her extensive maritime and commercial emigrations—her garrisons and settlements in the remotest and most insane corners of the globe—her enterprizes (not to say *errantry*) in the East Indies, and many debilitating home-manufactories that administer to the luxuries of the great, unthought of in ancient times; neither are we (I believe) at all behind the heathen world for the waste of debauchery and intemperance. In the midst of these various trains, is our little choleric island entering upon a war of the most inveterate nature, and for an unattainable object—a war, that, were you peopled like the dominions of China, and disciplined by the prolific morality of the primitive disciples of Lycurgus, must ere long totally annihilate your empire. “Nature (says Montesquieu) having made men equal, reason can never make them dependent, unless where it is necessary to their happiness.” I shall add, that an appeal must ever hold, in equity, to the common-sense of *living* societies, from the compacts or institutions of the *dead*.

Thus much may of a truth be advanced in favour of the Americans: partners with you in the triumphs of a most

glorious foreign war, and in all those national benefits acquired by your joint exertions and prowess, they stood firmly cemented to you by affection, as well as consanguinity. Perhaps, Sir, there are deep-founded civilians, whose rules might have held them justified long ago, in saving their rising fortunes from your sinking fate, and in an absolute separation from your dominion, were it only upon that fundamental principle which ought to govern human societies, as well as individuals—the law of self-preservation. They might, indeed, have urged the plea of insanity against the parent country, whose folly, ambition, and rapaciousness, were proceeding with gigantic strides, year after year, and day after day, for a long time past, to destroy one common stock of happiness, the joint property of all the members of this distracted empire: neither was such abundant happiness to be found, I believe, in the lot of any mortal society since the beginning of the universe. A faction of despots presiding over your ostensible government, fitter for the cells of Bedlam than the efficient cabinet of a limited monarch, whose sole right to his diadem is a right of election from the people—and the end of that election, to guard inviolate the liberties and properties of all his subjects—though the colonists beheld such alarming evils, and another dependant country (Ireland) shamefully trampled upon, suffering injuries and indignities too numerous and glaring to need a recital—and which country (by the way) never deserved a like treatment at your hands, unless to *bear it be to deserve it*. I say, Sir, though the Americans clearly saw these things, it was with an eye of affliction, and rather with the tear of pity given to your public degeneracy and fascination, than the least spark of anger: but when you followed those distant enormities, by bringing home to their own thresholds the hand of rapine and tyranny—when you, with a remorseless violence, were preparing to wrest from them every blessing to which they were unalienably entitled, as British subjects and freemen, substituting instead, a constitution never attempted to be imposed on any spot of Christian earth, but by a banditti of highwaymen on the heaths of Bagshot or Hounslow—“Give me your money, or I’ll blow out your brains;”—then, Sir, it was surely high time, if they felt like men, and like Britons, to act with a spirit of fortitude becoming men, and becoming Britons. Amidst the refuse of every numerous community, we of course find some characters marvellously sluggish and abject; from a few of these did we absurdly



surely and fallaciously judge of the majority of the injured colonists, till the measure of our oppression being full, in a string of diabolical acts against their charters, their trade, and very existence, scarce one advocate remained to us throughout thirteen large provinces.—“There is a time,” says Thomson (not the provincial colonel of that name taken in Canada, but the flower of the Scottish poets, Jemmy Thomson), “when e’en the slave at heart will spurn his chains, nor know submission more.” That time you have with prodigious pains brought to maturity. From what accursed examples our prevailing system of politics is drawn, I am at a loss to discover; I can conceive there is nothing of a similar complexion amidst all the voluptuous annals of mankind, unless it be met with in the memoirs of Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse; Sir, that monster being determined upon the ruin of a free people of Reggio, imposed on them certain exactions, with which he was persuaded they had not the ability to comply—hence he founded a pretext to invest their territories with a formidable army; after a gallant and desperate defence, they were reduced to an unconditional surrender: Dionysius then laid their city in ashes; condemned many of the principal inhabitants to cruel tortures, and sold the rest for slaves, by beat of drum, to the highest bidder, in a public market-place. How happy, Sir, would it make that mirror of all good qualities, our first lord commissioner of the admiralty, were he appointed drummer at the city of New York on a like occasion!

To invoke the special interposition of Providence in such an infernal undertaking as the present, is, to my mind, the most profligate excess of blasphemy—but, however the *mercenaries* of government may this day act, I hope the independent country gentlemen will join with me to implore the God of Clemency, that he will exercise this demon of discord and violence, which has too long inspired our deliberations, and presided over the public councils of every branch of the British legislature.—May that God at length open our eyes, and open our hearts, to the true interests of our country!

It is a very unfair argument to allege, that the Americans fight for *independency*.—You must be sensible, Sir, that the only way to straighten a bow is to wrest it with vigour to an opposite curve: the acts of this legislature affecting the colonists, were so warped from rectitude, that their only chance to recover a right line of justice was by proceeding to *contrary* extremities, to announce disunion and absolute free-

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dom. I approve of the address to his Majesty, recommended by the right honourable member near me [Lord John Cavendish], because I think it bids fair to save both countries from destruction, and to restore perfect concord to the contending parts of this distracted empire. If you empower the commissioners in America to propose peace on equitable conditions, offer to restore their charters, and relinquish the unsustainable claim of taxation with a good grace—even now, while your armies figure in the field, under hitherto triumphant generals—and I make no doubt, but by so laudable a step you will obtain from your colonies, through the Howes, as fair and magnanimous an answer, as that which was sent from the Paterii to the Roman senate, by the great Cæcilius—"The Romans, in having preferred justice to conquest, have taught us to be satisfied with submission instead of liberty."

Sir *Herbert Mackworth* professed himself to be one of the independent country gentlemen, and declared, he feared that matters were much misrepresented; that he did not like to hear gentlemen so ready to find a plea for the Americans on every occasion, and, even when they were beat, to hunt after a reason to shew that they could not avoid it, and that some particular circumstances occasioned it. He said, he was ever most clearly against that House attempting to tax America, as America was not represented in that House; but he thought it highly necessary to maintain the right; and that it was but reasonable America should contribute something in return for the millions she had cost this country. He spoke highly in favour of some of the gentlemen in opposition, but applauded the ministry; finally declaring, that, as an ancient Briton, he felt for the honour of his country, and therefore wished her success; not but he would be glad that a proper treaty for reconciliation was on foot, and, he owned, he cared not whether it was with rebels in arms or without them. He was against the amendment.

The right honourable *T. Townshend*. I do not rise, Sir, to discuss, or indeed to take much notice of that humorous paragraph, which the ministers have thought proper to insert in his Majesty's speech; calling for the unanimity of this House, and of the nation at large. I say his ministers have inserted, because I hope it will still be deemed parliamentary to consider the King's speech as the speech of the minister, and to hold, that the minister or ministers are answerable for every part of it. I call it humorous, because it would be ridiculous

diculous in any one to consider it as serious. We have, thank God, a very witty minister, and he has thought proper at this time, when the generality of the world think this country in a situation that ought to make the boldest man among you tremble, to treat us with a joke.

It would be doing the composer of the speech great injustice to suppose, that he meant in earnest to assume, that we must now be unanimous. If he were, what must be his logic? Must he not reason thus? Gentlemen, you and all the world foretold last year, that the measures of administration would bring the affairs of America into the unhappy state in which we now see them; that they would force the Americans to a declaration of independence; and you urged those natural consequences as reasons for opposing such measures. The consequence you foretold has happened; come, then, give us now your confidence, and be unanimous in your support of the same men, in the prosecution of the same system. To say that the measures of last year did not tend to this end, seems to me absurd to the last degree. What did you do by your language in every debate, and by the provisions of every act that you passed? Did you not declare them out of your protection? Did you not put them in the situation, not only of separated states, of France and Spain for example, but of distinct states, of France and Spain, at open war with you? Did you, even in your acts of parliament, so much as affect to distinguish between the innocent and the guilty?

In this situation, ministers think proper to trifle and to joke with the House. I never saw such a scene on the first day of a session, in a most important hour, as I have seen to-day. Ministers do not think themselves bound to attend, or to give answers to the questions that have been put to them by many respectable gentlemen to-day; nay, they do not even preserve the least appearance of attention; they do not keep their seats, they walk about the House, or out of the House. I really thought, some time ago, that the minister in the blue riband had left the house entirely, and meant to depute the care of the division to his clerks and secretaries, who might afterwards report the numbers to him at his own house. Such a treatment, I believe, a House of Parliament never experienced at any time, at least not at so important a period; a period, when we may possibly have reason to expect, that, before many months are over our heads, this country may be in as melancholy a situation, in a state of as much

confusion and desolation as now prevails in America, in consequence of our past measures.

I will now venture to put a few questions to the administration, though I do not very well know why I should, as they have not thought proper to answer questions, perhaps, much more pertinent; I am sure, much better stated from other honourable gentlemen, who have as good a right to expect answers as any men who ever sat here. I believe it never happened, that on the first day of the session, after a long recess, and at a most alarming crisis, a debate had lasted so long a time and reached this hour of the evening, without a word having fallen from any one officially qualified to give satisfactory answers upon the situation of public affairs.

I must ask then, what means that part of the speech, which tells us, that all the powers of Europe are in amity with us, but that we must put our forces in a respectable state? Is not France arming? Is not Spain armed? Has not the former called for the registered seamen? Has she not swept her coasts by a press? Does there remain even a fisherman on the coast opposite to us, fit for the king's service, who is not marching, or under orders to march to Brest? Has she not an equipment at Brest ready to sail? Have we not pressed, and are we not putting a fleet of men of war into commission? I have been told that the court of France have been asked the reason of their arming; and that the answer our court received was, that we were armed ourselves, and in so formidable a state, that we should immediately subdue America, and that they were jealous that, in the career of our glory, we should fall upon them. If that is true, I must suppose the minister of France to have been in as facetious a humour when he sent that answer, as our minister was when he composed that part of his Majesty's speech, which assumes, that we must be unanimous in this day's debate. I must confess, that, till I receive a little satisfaction upon these points, I shall continue to think this country in the most perilous situation it ever experienced. When I consider our army in England, our army in Ireland, what are the numbers, and of what raw men they are composed, I own I tremble. Surely our militia alone, in its present condition, is not to be trusted as the only defence of this country. It is not like what it was during the last war. The militia marched out from their counties, regiment by regiment, according to the state of their discipline, and their fitness to take the field. They had had the assistance of two or three officers from the army,

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to assist in the training each separate battalion. Now they will be called out all at once, and without these assistances. Add to this, that, without any reflection upon the present gentlemen who bear commissions in the militia, they have not a third or a fourth part of the weight and property among them, that they had during the war. Now, Sir, as those essential qualities in officering a militia are not counterbalanced by the least superiority in military skill, that body of men are, in my opinion, not by any means so much to be depended upon.

As to the state of the navy, we have heard much upon it, from gentlemen much better qualified to speak upon it than myself. But there are one or two very striking features in it, that differ much from what we saw last war. We had twelve or thirteen thousand Americans in our navy. It is unnecessary to say where they are now. They are making reprisals upon our defenceless trade. I hope they have made more prizes than the French and Spaniards did in all the last war in those seas. We have besides, I understand, about 15,000 of our seamen in our fleet in America. What a draught from the general naval force of this country! We have, as you are told, a very fine fleet of ships of the line: but can ships of the line protect your trade, or alone prevent an invasion? Where are your frigates and sloops? Almost all in America. I have been told, and from the best authority, by men who sat many years at the board of admiralty, with, perhaps, the greatest officer this country ever saw at the head of its navy, that in times of an apprehended invasion, fifty, sixty, seventy of these frigates and sloops were constantly and necessarily employed. What proportion of them can you now command?

In the last war, the French had other objects to think of, besides an invasion of these islands. You had an army in Germany, that held at bay, and found ample work for 150,000 of the best troops in France. What chance have we now of such a diversion of their force? They seem to me, to have before them the full choice of every circumstance that a nation can wish for, that have a constant rival, and almost as constant an enemy to deal with. They may choose the scene, the mode, and, if I may use the expression, the degree of war they please.

The fleet of Spain may sail to America, while the troops and fleet of France may either threaten or attack this country. If they march their troops down to the coast, which they

they may do without the least inconvenience to themselves, if their men of war only ride at anchor in the road of Brest, it will be sufficient to strike almost a fatal blow to the credit of this country, at the same time that your fleet in America will be at the mercy of the Spaniards. For, as it has been already said, what can my Lord Howe's frigates do against ten or twelve men of war of the line?

The disputes and hostilities between Spain and Portugal are hinted at in the speech. If that difference proceeds to an open rupture, if France and Spain jointly, or either of them separately, attack that country, we are bound by treaty to assist Portugal with considerable succours by sea and land. The commerce of this country with Portugal has been always looked upon as an object of importance; it may be something less beneficial now, than it used to be, but still it is of great moment to us. Can you, in your present situation, protect it? Can you perform your engagements, and attempt to prevent that country from becoming a province of Spain? What a figure will this country make, if it is obliged to declare, in the face of all Europe, that it is not in a condition to fulfil its treaties, (a disgrace, which never before stained the annals of this country!) and to suffer Portugal, once the source of a trade extremely beneficial to us, to be over-run by the princes of the house of Bourbon, and, perhaps, to become a province of Spain?

Sir, this picture is too disagreeable for me to wish to dwell upon it. I am afraid it is not overcharged. If it is, I shall be glad to be convinced of it.

Before I sit down, I must beg leave, Sir, to take notice of a few words that fell from the worthy member who spoke last. He spoke long and well. I have not equal pretension or inclination to take up as much of your time. He used much argument, and certainly no declamation, as he proscribed and forbid it in others. He threw out a sort of a challenge. Do not declaim, but shew me when this House has inflicted any hardship upon America. I must recommend to the gentleman to take one or two of the volumes of statutes of the two last years, and peruse them. He will find them full of such laws as never made a part of any statute-book before. He will find that we have put the colonies totally out of our protection: that we have forbid them the exercise of any trade but that of arms, and have, by those means, forced them to take up those arms, and

and use them against ourselves: that we professed to involve the innocent subjects of America with the guilty: that our restrictions did not only deprive them of trade, but even of food. In this situation we are to wonder at their declaring themselves independent.

Sir, the worthy member has likewise accused somebody of taking every opportunity of extolling the bravery and conduct of the American troops and officers, and at the same time of wantonly and injuriously censuring the behaviour of our own officers and troops. I do not know at whom he means to point. I do not feel myself liable to this charge. As to the affair of Long Island, as the action happened, I am glad to find it attended with so little loss on the side of General Howe. I own I am wicked enough to wish that fewer Americans had fallen. There are disagreeable reports upon that subject. I do not know enough of the subject to speak with certainty, but I hope the ministers will be able to convince us, that it is not true, that fourteen or fifteen hundred of them were killed in cold blood. When I came to town the day the news came, I heard that fact asserted with exultation, avowed, and justified. Afterwards, I heard it upon a little cooler reflection, palliated, and accounted and apologized for: I understand that to-day it will be denied. As I do not pretend to be certain of the fact, I will not even hint at the body of troops by which it is supposed to have been committed.

I have never been disposed to make free with the characters of officers absent and upon service. I am sure, I am not one of those who have cast those reflections; alluded to by an honourable gentleman behind me, upon the conduct of Sir Peter Parker. I have always heard him reckoned an able officer; he has, undoubtedly, in the affair of Sullivan's Island, shewn himself a brave man. It is impossible for one so ignorant of naval affairs as I am, to judge of the propriety of the attack. But where is the character of General Clinton? as amiable and respectable a man, and as gallant and enterprising an officer as any in the service; and yet the judgment formed by mankind from the accounts published by government, is not in his favour. He appears, by their accounts, to have been nineteen days on Long Island before he found out the channel was seven feet deep instead of eighteen inches. General Clinton, in the last war, attached himself to the hereditary Prince of Brunswick, a service that would not have been chosen by a man that had not

not the spirit of enterprise. In such a school he was not likely to learn to hesitate, or to decline any fatigue or danger, by which the service upon which he was ordered, might be advanced. Nor did he deviate from his former conduct upon this occasion; though the accounts that have been published, and the reports spread by every member of government, may have drawn upon him the censure of unthinking men. Sir, I have seen such accounts, as authorize me to say, that he examined the channel, or ford, as it has been erroneously called, the day he landed, and that he sent an account of it to the Commodore. He sounded it with his own person as far as he could. If I advance what is ill-founded, let me be contradicted. But I am confident no man can contradict me. If I am right, how injuriously he has been treated! The worthy member exclaims with propriety against liberties taken with the characters of absent officers, but let him remember the quarter from whence the injury comes, and direct his censure accordingly.

There is, I think, one part of the speech which mentions a discovery of the original designs of the *leaders* of the Americans. In God's name, who made them *leaders*? How came they to be so? If you force men together by oppression, they will form into bodies, and choose *leaders*. Mr. Hancock was a merchant of credit and opulence, when this unhappy business first broke out. Men in that kind of situation are not very prone to a change of government. I think I have sometimes heard a few old women say, that the civil war of the last century was originally contrived by Cromwell; — that the first opposition to Charles I. was begun in order to advance Cromwell to the protectorship. It is a sagacity and penetration of the same kind that has now happily discovered the original views of those who now are the *leaders* of the Americans.

Some gentlemen have been jocular upon the ribands and other honours conferred by the Congress. They have, however, hardly distributed honours with a less sparing hand than the ministers have done. I believe, since the good days of King James I. there never was so great a profusion of honours as within this half year. I beg pardon for the expression of profusion; it conveys an improper idea, and I wish to recall it. It is not a profusion, it is a happy increase of merit in these times, which called for certainly a much larger distribution of honours than has been known in the memory of man. One Gazette announced no less than two and fifty



honours conferred in Ireland. The great seals of England and Ireland have been set to six and forty patents of peerage within these few months; some of them, I believe, supposed not to be quite consistent with the Act of Union. I would not be supposed to look with an evil eye at any marks of favour shewn to the Peers of Scotland; I do not enter into that question; it is matter for the decision of another assembly. I wish the Scotch peerage upon a much better footing. I should see with pleasure five and twenty or thirty British peerages conferred upon the Peers of that kingdom, provided we could get rid of the election of the sixteen. I respect many of the present sixteen, and should willingly see them included in such a promotion. But their present condition is not a desirable one. I believe there is not a man in that part of the united kingdom who does not agree with me in this opinion.

But, Sir, I am deviating from the question before us; though I believe I may plead precedent for it, the first day of a session being usually looked upon as a day of general conversation. I have now only to return thanks to the House for their indulgence to me.

I rose for the purpose of asking the few questions which I have ventured to submit to those, who in other times would have been thought under some degree of necessity of answering them. I shall not be much surpris'd to find my questions treated as those offered by other gentlemen have been. However, if I can procure a satisfactory answer to them, I shall think myself amply repaid for the trouble I have taken to state them.

Lord North. I think proper to deliver my sentiments thus early, because, should I defer my intention for only half an hour longer, the House may probably forget one of my prime inducements for rising to trouble you. It is, Sir, to meet the charge made against me by the right honourable gentleman over the way [Mr. Townshend], lest it may go forth, that I neglected my duty in this House, as a member, or a minister; lest, Sir, an absence of ten minutes, on a pressing call of business, in the course of a debate, which will probably continue fourteen hours, should be represented as an open desertion of my post, in the moment of danger and difficulty. I may, Sir, be deficient in many respects, but of all wants I never imagined that a want of respect, diligence as a member, or attention to this House, would have swelled the long catalogue. I am yet to learn, that the behaviour of a member,

ber, relative to these personal *minutiae*, was ever esteemed a fit object of parliamentary animadversion, or matter sufficiently important to incur public reprehension. I have, it is true, been absent about ten minutes, upon a pressing call of business, and am now returned to my seat. *This*, Sir, is the atrocious crime I have committed. This it is that has furnished the right honourable gentleman who spoke last with so happy an opportunity of displaying his talents. I trust, however, that I shall have the justice done me, to allow that there is no member in this House longer keeps his place, I mean my place in Parliament, or attends with greater patience and resignation, the whole length of a tedious debate, than I do.

It has been more than once objected, this night, that I have, since the commencement of the present troubles, held back such information as became necessary for you to know, in order the better to be able to decide upon measures proper to be pursued relative to America. Nothing can be more unjust and ill-founded than this charge. I have been ready, at all times, to communicate to this House every possible information that could be given with *safety*. I repeat with safety, because the very bad and mischievous consequences of disclosing the full contents of letters, with the writers' names, has been already severely proved, and would, in the present situation of affairs, not only be impolitic, but might be to the last degree dangerous, if not fatal, to the persons immediately concerned.

Several honourable gentlemen on the other side have proposed questions, which, I think, an attentive perusal of the speech would have prevented them from putting to me. His Majesty says, he has received assurances of amity from the several courts of Europe; yet he has thought it necessary to prepare himself against any *sudden attack*. The assertion is, I contend, strictly true; I am answerable for its veracity; for I advised, in concert with the rest of his Majesty's servants, the passage now objected to. His Majesty has received those assurances; but he has not thought it prudent *entirely* to *trust* and *rely* on their contents.

It is well known, that Spain and Portugal have been for the last year on the point of differing about the frontiers of the Brazils. It is equally true, that his Majesty has interposed his good offices as a mediator, and endeavoured to accommodate the dispute. This interposition, at present, promises to terminate happily, and to the satisfaction of both parties; it  
is,

is, however, impossible to tell, what turn the affair may take, or venture at all to be *responsible* for the event of such a negotiation.

From the present assurances of the court of France, and stronger cannot be desired, we have every reason to be satisfied of their pacific intentions; should it nevertheless prove otherwise, I can venture to affirm, and from my own knowledge, to assure this House, that we are prepared for the worst, and that our preparations have been such as to enable us to cope with any enemy who may be inclined to molest us. It has been said, that we are stripped of our home naval defence; that though we should procure seamen, and have a sufficient number of line of battle ships ready for sea, the absence of our frigates would prevent us, for some time at least, carrying on any effectual naval operation. To this, a very short answer will suffice; we have several frigates at home, there are some building; and if it were not so, we could procure a sufficient number to answer every purpose we want, or wish at present to effect.

The armament going on in France, which has been this night so mightily magnified, is but a *small* one; I mean comparatively with what we are able to send to sea, at a short warning: it consists of six ships of the line, and four frigates. They are, it is true, putting their navy on a respectable footing; they have made a demand on the registers. These preparations import nothing directly hostile; their assurances, their pacific dispositions towards us, are as strong as words can make them: but I repeat once more, that his Majesty's ministers have thought proper to advise him to the present armament, by way of precaution.

Two or three honourable gentlemen on the other side have charged me with stuffing the speech with *wit* and *humour*, hypocrisy, deceit, and absurdity; some on account of the word *unanimity*; others for the following passage: "my desire is to restore to them (the people of America) the blessings of law and liberty." Now I see no wit or humour in either of the passages alluded to, but the plainest deductions of plain reasoning and common sense. By unanimity, it cannot be supposed was meant a total union of sentiment, on every side of the House; it could hardly be imagined or expected: it meant great and decisive majorities, minorities, consisting, perhaps, of thirty or forty members. As to the hypocrisy charged on that other passage, wherein his Majesty expresses his desire to restore his subjects to law and liberty, that I think is, if

if possible, worse founded; instead of being absurd, or hypocritical, I am of opinion, it is supported by fact, and as sound logic as the English language is capable of conveying. Are not law and liberty fled from America? Can it be said so of this country? The debate of this day has fully proved it cannot; and I beg leave to remind the gentlemen who have in the course of the present evening thrown so many reflections upon administration, that they would soon find the difference of the two countries, had they dared to make so free with the Congress. I cannot, however, but applaud the spirit which has dictated those severities: I am pleased with that spirit of inquiry which has manifested, though it be a licentious spirit; and I wish it to continue, though I am destined to be the object of attack.

I beg pardon of the House for taking up so much of their time; but I wish them to recollect, that much the greater part of it was taken up in replying to questions and explanations I thought it my duty to answer and give. I cannot agree with the amendment now proposed, because it desires his Majesty to set on foot a tedious inquiry to no purpose, to procrastinate events which in all probability will soon be produced, and render fruitless every favourable operation which hath already taken place. It has always been my wish, and that of every other servant of the King, to bring matters to as early an issue, and with as little bloodshed as possible; to use the present successes and victory, if it were gained, with prudence and moderation, and rather as a means of cementing a lasting unity and amity, than as objects of triumph, or instruments for forging the chains of slavery, or excuses for tyranny or oppression.

He appealed to his own conciliatory motion, that reconciliation had constantly been his object. He asserted, that that motion held out to the colonies a proposal, or proposition, that they should raise among themselves a certain, or such a proportionate sum, as should be settled and agreed upon between Great Britain and them; and that, in future, they should never be further taxed but when we were.

Col. *Barré* observed, that the right honourable gentleman, who spoke last but one, was wrong in stating that the noble Lord did not pay sufficient attention to the House; that the noble Lord certainly did very regularly attend, and was, in general, ready to answer the questions put to him; that he answered them satisfactorily, he would not say, but he generally answered them; there was one question, however, which

which had been put in the course of the debate; a question of the first consequence, of the most serious importance, to which the noble Lord had wholly neglected to speak. In order to give him an opportunity of speaking to it, he would therefore then put it, and sit down, without proceeding further, that the noble Lord might give the House that satisfaction which he doubted not many of them wished to receive. The question was, "What powers were General and Lord Howe invested with, as his Majesty's commissioners, to treat with America?"

Lord North immediately said, that their commission had lately been published in the Gazette, and that nothing relative to the business had been concealed. His Lordship read part of the commission, and said, he knew of nothing more, unless indeed some direction relative to prisoners.

Col. Barré again rose, and pulling a paper out of his pocket, declared, he had in his hand an account of what passed at a conference between Lieutenant-colonel Patterson and General Washington, when Colonel Patterson was dispatched with General and Lord Howe's letter; that the account was printed in America, but that it bore evident marks of authenticity, although indeed it did not come directly into his hands; for he could positively say, that no letter directed to him, and sent from America, ever reached him. He commented on the account in his hand, declaring his high esteem for Colonel Patterson, with whom he had the happiness to be acquainted, and asserting, that he was a man of the first honour in the service. He said, the account he was going to read did Colonel Patterson infinite credit.

He then read the following paper from the New York Gazette of the 5th of August.

"The following is an exact state of what passed at the interview between his Excellency General Washington, and Colonel Patterson, adjutant-general of the army under General Howe, July 20, 1776.

"After usual compliments, in which, as well as through the whole conversation, Colonel Patterson addressed General Washington by the title of *Excellency*; Colonel Patterson entered upon the business by saying, that General Howe much regretted the difficulties which had arisen respecting the address of the letters to Gen. Washington; that it was deemed consistent with propriety, and founded upon precedents of the like nature by ambassadors and plenipotentiaries, where disputes

or difficulties of rank had arisen; that General Washington might recollect he had, last summer, addressed a letter to General Howe; "To the Honourable William Howe, Esq." that Lord Howe, and General Howe, did not mean to derogate from the respect or rank of General Washington; that they held his person and character in the highest esteem; that the direction, with the addition, &c. &c. &c. implied every thing that ought to follow. He then produced a letter which he did not directly offer to General Washington, but observed, that it was the same letter which had been sent, and laid it on the table, with the superscription to George Washington, &c. &c. &c. The General declined the letter, and said, that a letter directed to a person in a public character, should have some description or indication of it, otherwise it would appear a mere private letter; that it was true the *&c. &c. &c.* implied every thing, and they also implied any thing; that the letter to General Howe alluded to, was an answer to one received under a like address from him, which the officer on duty having taken, he did not think proper to return, but answered it in the same mode of address; that he should absolutely decline any letter directed to him as a private person, when it related to his public station. Colonel Patterson then said, that General Howe would not urge his delicacy any further, and repeated his assertions, that no failure of respect was intended. He then said, that he would endeavour, as well as he could, to recollect General Howe's sentiments on the letter, and resolves of Congress, sent him a few days before, respecting the treatment of our prisoners in Canada, and that the affairs of Canada were in another department, not subject to the control of General Howe, but that he and Lord Howe utterly disapproved of every infringement of the rights of humanity. Colonel Patterson then took a paper out of his pocket, and, after looking it over, said, he had expressed nearly the words. General Washington then said, that he had also forwarded a copy of the resolves to General Burgoyne. To which Colonel Patterson replied, he did not doubt a proper attention would be paid to them, and that he (General Washington) was sensible, that cruelty was not the characteristic of the British nation. Colonel Patterson then proceeded to say, he had it in charge to mention the case of General Prescott, who, they were informed, was treated with such rigour, that, under his age and infirmities, fatal consequences might be apprehended.

“General

“ General Washington replied, that General Prescott's treatment had not fallen under his notice ; that the persons under his particular direction he had treated with kindness ; and made their situation as easy and comfortable as possible ; that he did not know where General Prescott was, but believed his treatment was different from their information. General Washington then mentioned the case of Colonel Allen, and the officers who had been confined in Boston gaol. As to the first, Colonel Patterson answered, that General Howe had no knowledge of it, but by information from General Washington, and that the Canada department was not under his direction or control ; that as to the other prisoners at Boston, whenever the state of the army at Boston admitted it, they were treated with humanity and even indulgence ; that he asserted this upon his honour, and should be happy in an opportunity to prove it.

“ General Washington then observed, that the conduct of several of the officers would well have warranted a different treatment from what they had received ; some having refused to give any parole, and others having broken it when given, by escaping, or endeavouring so to do. Colonel Patterson answered, that as to the first, they misunderstood the matter very much, and seemed to have mistook the line of propriety exceedingly ; and as to the latter, General Howe utterly disapproved and condemned their conduct.

“ That if a remonstrance was made, such violations of good faith would be severely punished ; but that he hoped General Washington was too just to draw public inferences from the misbehaviour of some private individuals ; that bad men were to be found in every class of society ; and such behaviour was considered as a dishonour to the British army. Colonel Patterson then proceeded to say, that the goodness and benevolence of the King had induced him to appoint Lord Howe and General Howe his commissioners to accommodate this unhappy dispute ; that they had great powers, and would derive the greatest pleasure from effecting an accommodation ; and that he (Colonel Patterson) wished to have this visit considered as making the first advances to this desirable object. General Washington replied, he was not vested with any powers on this subject, by those from whom he derived his authority and power. But from what had appeared and transpired on this head, Lord Howe and General Howe were only to grant pardons ; that those who had committed no fault, wanted no pardon ; that we were only

defending what we deemed our indisputable right. Colonel Patterfon said, that would open a very wide field for argument. He then expressed his apprehensions that an adherence to forms was likely to obstruct business of the greatest moment and concern.

"He then observed, that a proposal had been formerly made for exchanging Governor Skene for Mr. Lovell; that he had now authority to accede to that proposal. General Washington replied, that the proposition had been made by the direction of Congress, and having been then rejected, he could not now renew the business, or give any answer, till he had previously communicated it to them.

"Colonel Patterfon behaved with the greatest attention and politeness during the whole business, expressed strong acknowledgments that the usual ceremony of blinding his eyes had been dispensed with. At the breaking up of the conference, General Washington strongly invited him to partake of a small collation provided for him, which he politely declined, alleging his late breakfast, and an impatience to return to General Howe, though he had not executed his commission so amply as he wished. Finding he did not propose staying, he was introduced to the general officers, after which he took his leave, and was safely conducted to his own boat, which waited for him, about four miles distant from the city.

"Made public by the order of Congress,

"JOHN HANCOCK, President."

Colonel Barré demanded of the ministers, why some account of this matter had not been given the public through the channel of the London Gazette? He said it was that *scandalous* concealment of intelligence from the public, which roused his warmth; that from the account he had just read it was plain, the ministers had been bold enough to break through an act of Parliament, for that in that very House the act had passed but last session, limiting the powers of the commissioners sent to America, and rendering their commission altogether ineffectual. That he should have applauded them for their spirit in daring to violate the law, had the violation produced a salutary effect. That he had last year told them what would be the consequence of their sending such commissioners, under such an act of Parliament; that he had advised them to send a trumpet from camp to camp, previous to any action; that the House, he was proud to say, had approved of that advice, and that he was sure it would



would have been more effectual, than a ridiculous attempt at a treaty, overlaid by absurd forms and idle punctilio. He turned from this, to what he called another important subject, the tremendous appearance of a war in Europe, and told the House in a most peremptory tone, that a war of the most serious kind threatened this country, a war from the united powers of France and Spain; that the attack would shortly be made, and made within the hearing of those who then sat in the House. A laugh arising from the opposite benches, the Colonel observed with some warmth, Gentlemen may laugh, but I dare aver, that those who laugh now, will, in the moment of danger, be lying, in tears, on their backs, like cowards. He then declared, that France was full two months beforehand with us in preparation; that we were, in fact, defenceless, unable to make any resistance, should she *soon* begin; that the noble Lord shifted his ground so often, that there was no dependance on his information; that even now he had said, he relied on the present assurances of the pacific intentions of France, but that he did not know how soon she might alter her intention.

Lord North declared, that he *firmly* believed the court of Versailles: but as he was *no* prophet, he would not answer for events six months hence. He complained of having his words watched, and thrown perpetually in his teeth.

Col. Barré declared he ever would watch the minister; that it was extraordinary, indeed, if the noble Lord high in office, and the ostensible minister, expected his words would not be watched; he protested he would continue to watch him, and report his words on every fit occasion. The minister of this country, he said, ought always to have information sufficient of what the French were about to undertake, to promise for six months; if he could not, his neck ought to be brought to the block. The situation of the affairs of this country, he said, was awful, alarming, and tremendous: he spoke it, he said, with fear and trembling, but this country seemed to be near the *crisis* of her fate; he advised the treasury-bench, therefore, to look about them; and as there was one question which demanded an immediate answer, he would then put it: had the King's ministers information of a particular species of armament preparing by the French in those ports of France which were immediately opposite, and nearest to this kingdom? The question, he trusted, was clear and comprehensive. He put it roundly, and he required immediate

diate explanation. If it was not answered, the silence of the ministry would operate in his mind as fully as any answer they could give; if they had not the necessary information, they were not fit for their posts, and ought to hold them no longer. He entered into the state of our naval power, summing up the number of men of war in our ports, and the guard-ships, which he declared had none of them their complement of men on board, although the noble Lord had said, they were nearly manned. [Here he was again interrupted, Lord North having said, partly manned.] He asserted, that we were by no means a match for the united force of France and Spain. He recommended to the ministry, at any rate to make up matters with America; he observed we had in the last war 12,000 seamen from America, who would now, should France attack us, be fighting against us; that all the useful part of our navy was on the coasts of America; in fact, that matters were so bad, that unavoidable ruin hovered over this devoted country. Recall, therefore, he said, your fleets and armies from America, and leave the brave colonists to the enjoyment of their liberty. This created a louder laugh than the former among the occupiers of the several official benches; which irritated the Colonel so much, that he reprehended the treasury-bench in terms of great asperity; he arraigned them with a want of manners, and declared, he thought professed courtiers had been better bred. He then again denounced vengeance, and after a thousand repetitions of the danger of our present situation, he bid the ministry appoint proper officers; the fleet, he said, ought to be commanded by a brave man then in the House, an admiral who had once already saved his country; the admiral he meant was an honourable friend near him, Admiral Keppel; he said, he knew he was out of order in naming a member, but on such an occasion he thought himself justified in mentioning so brave an officer.

At length having held up a most tremendous picture of impending mischief to his country, he repeated his question to the treasury-bench, and sat down, deploring the insatiation of government, and asserting, that a majority of votes in that House would never conquer France and Spain, however they might procure the minister a momentary triumph, and make him a welcome guest at St. James's.

Admiral Keppel said, that things had an extremely disagreeable appearance. He asserted, from the most authentic information, that Spain had twenty-five ships of the line, but believed them

them to be ill-manned with marines. In respect to France, it was otherwise. Their registers commanded seamen, and their military force was known to be sufficient to furnish any number of men they might want, to serve on board their ships of war. He concluded with lamenting, in case of a rupture with France or Spain, the absence of that useful and necessary part of our naval force, our frigates and sloops of war.

*Lord George Germaine.* I rise to explain a few circumstances which have been demanded for information; I shall give all the satisfaction in my power, not speaking from notes. Relative to the state of our armament, the right honourable Gentleman is much mistaken in saying the twenty-three ships are not half manned. They want, Sir, only 1500 men of their full complement, and twelve are fully manned: so that there are no reasons for those numerous and great apprehensions, which the right honourable Gentleman has stated so largely. As to the propositions which General Howe made to General Washington, they prove clearly, as the Americans themselves state the matter, that General Howe was eager for the means of peace and conciliation; but Washington against them. However, General Howe will doubtless be able to put New York at the mercy of the King; after which the legislature will be restored, and an opportunity will thereby be given for the well-affected to declare themselves, who are ready to make proper submission. Sir Peter Parker's expedition failed, from arriving too late; I am not answerable for its success, for it was planned before I came into the office. I had assurances from Lord Cornwallis and General Clinton of this, that, had not unavoidable delays happened, the force would have proved sufficient. The conduct of the war in Canada also has been reprobated for want of boats; all possible expedition has been used in building them, but it has taken longer time than I expected, and the embarking upon the lake has necessarily been delayed beyond the time intended. I am farther asked, what are the numbers of the armies in America? Sir, the number of that under General Howe is 25,000, and he will be reinforced by 5000 more, which are near the American coast by this time. He has besides about 2000 provincials, and will probably have more. The army in Canada is 11,000, and perhaps three or four hundred, which is the full complement for that department, if not a little more. There has been no cartel settled. There can be none; but the

commanders in chief have agreed upon an exchange of some prisoners, man for man. Another question is, whether administration knows any thing of particular preparations on the coast of France? I have asked the noble Lord by me [Lord North], and he knows nothing of any such—nothing farther than what is necessary for conducting the registered seamen to Brest; nor have I any intelligence of that sort. And now, Sir, having replied to these queries, permit me to make one remark on the House of Bourbon's supposed design of assisting the Americans, by going to war with us. I can give no credit to this idea, and my reason is, because it would be manifestly against their interest. How well do you suppose would those countries like to have the spirit of independence cross the Atlantic? Would they not fear that their own colonists would catch fire at the unlimited rights of mankind?—would they not like that language better than digging gold? And would there not arise great danger from powerful independent states being so near them, freed from all control from Europe?—I cannot believe, Sir, that they would be so blind to their own interests.

Mr. Fox said, that every circumstance that had fallen out in America, was one aggregate proof, that opposition had been *right* last session in *every* one of their prophecies, and in every motive they had laid down as the cause of their conduct:—that nothing could be so farcical as calling for *unanimity* in approving measures, *because* those measures had been uniformly attended with the *mischiefs* that had been *predicted*:—that instead of applause and approbation, administration deserved nothing but reproach—for having brought the Americans into such a situation, that it was impossible for them to pursue any other conduct than what they had pursued.

He went into the independence declared by America. The Americans had done no more than the English had done against James the Second. When James went out of the kingdom, the English declared the throne to be abdicated, and chose another king. When the late severe laws were passed against the Americans, they were thrown into anarchy; they declared we had abdicated the government, and therefore they were at liberty to choose a government for themselves.

He was astonished at the sense which the noble Lord in the blue riband put upon his conciliatory motion. He affirmed, that the motion contained no such proposition as that now asserted by the noble Lord, nor could such a construction

Amendment be put upon any words in the motion. He desired the motion might be read. It was read, as follows:

*“ Resolved,*

*February 27, 1775.*

“ That when the governor, council, and assembly, or general court of any of his Majesty’s provinces or colonies in America, shall propose to make provision, according to the condition, circumstances, and situation of such province or colony, for contributing their proportion to the common defence (such proportion to be raised under the authority of the general court, or general assembly, of such province or colony, and disposable by Parliament), and shall engage to make provision also for the support of the civil government, and the administration of justice, in such province or colony, it will be proper, if such proposal shall be approved by his Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament, and for so long as such provision shall be made accordingly, to forbear, in respect of such province or colony, to levy any duty, tax, or assessment, or to impose any farther duty, tax, or assessment, except only such duties as it may be expedient to continue to levy or to impose for the regulation of commerce; the nett produce of the duties last mentioned to be carried to the account of such province or colony respectively.”

Well, Sir, is it not clear, that no such proposition was held out by the motion? and is it not extraordinary, that every body should understand the motion, but the author of it?—As to the noble Lord who spoke last, priding himself on a legislature being re-established in New York, it is the highest absurdity.—Who can suppose, that, with an army of 30,000 men there, a legislature will not be found that shall express just that species of law and liberty which the other noble Lord wishes to establish in America, and which kings may naturally be supposed to wish to flow from popular assemblies? Sir, it has been very well said, that the speech is an hypocritical one; and in truth there is not a little hypocrisy in supposing, that a king—(I except his present Majesty, who really loves liberty—) but that a common king should be solicitous to establish any thing that depended on a popular assembly. Kings, Sir, govern by means of popular assemblies, only because they cannot do without them; to suppose a king fond of that mode of governing is to suppose a chimera.—It cannot exist—it is contrary to the nature of things—and it is hypocrisy to advance it.

But, Sir, if this happy time of law and liberty is to be restored to America, why, Sir, was it ever disturbed? It reigned there

there till the *abominable* doctrine of gaining money by taxes *infatuated* the heads of our statesmen. Why did you destroy the fair work of so many ages, in order to re-establish that by the sword, which prudence, and the good government of the country, had seemed to fix for ever?

But, Sir, how is this blessed system of law and liberty to be established?—By the bayonets of disciplined Germans. The noble Lord who spoke last, seemed to pride himself upon the Americans of Long Island making a precipitate retreat.—They were out-generalled.—Discipline triumphed over the *enthusiasm* which *liberty inspires*.—Did the noble Lord triumph? I *pity his feelings*.

Sir, something has been said on the case of General Clinton: I wish that matter had been more explained; as it stands at present, the Gazette account is an *infamous libel* on the character of that gallant officer.—Let administration stand forth, and avow that representation;—they will not do it—they dare not do it—they *skulk* from an *open* and a *fair* representation.

We have been told, that it is not for the interest of Spain and France to have America independent.—Sir, I deny it;—and say, it is contrary to every principle of common sense. Is not the division of the enemy's power advantageous? Is not a free country engaged in trade less formidable than the ambition of an old corrupted government, their only formidable rival in Europe? The noble Lord who moved the amendment, said, that we were in the dilemma of conquering or abandoning America; if we are reduced to that, I am for abandoning America. What have been the advantages of America to this kingdom? Extent of trade, increase of commercial advantages, and a numerous people growing up in the same ideas and sentiments as ourselves.—Now, Sir, how would those advantages accrue to us, if America was conquered? Not one of them. Such a possession of America must be secured by a standing army; and that, let me observe, must be a very considerable army. Consider, Sir, that that army must be cut off from the intercourse of social liberty here, and *accustomed*, in every instance, to bow down and break the spirits of men, to trample on the rights, and to live on the spoils cruelly wrung from the sweat and labour of their fellow-subjects;—such an army, employed for such purposes, and paid by such means, for supporting such principles, would be a very proper instrument to effect points of a greater, or at least *more favourite* importance nearer home; points,

points, perhaps, very unfavourable to the liberties of this country.

General Conway said, he should be very sorry any part of his conduct were construed as disrespectful to his Majesty; no person bore his Majesty higher respect; but the address was so entirely against his sentiments, so often declared in that House, he must vote against it.

The House divided upon the amendment; 87 for it, and 242 against it.

November 1.

The address reported. No debate.

November 2.

The address presented.

*The humble Address of the House of Commons to the King.*

*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty the humble thanks of this House, for your most gracious speech from the throne.

While we lament the continuance of the troubles which have so long distracted your Majesty's colonies in North America, and of the calamities and oppressions which our unhappy fellow-subjects are still suffering under the arbitrary tyranny of their leaders; we cannot forbear to express our detestation and abhorrence of the audacious and desperate spirit of ambition, which has at last carried those leaders so far as to make them openly renounce all allegiance to the crown, and all political connexion with this country, and in direct terms to presume to set up their rebellious confederacies for independent states.

We consider the rejection of the gracious and condescending means of reconciliation, held out to them, under the authority of your Majesty's commission, as a fresh and convincing proof, that the object of these men has always been power and dominion; but we can impute the circumstances of indignity and insult accompanying this proceeding to no other motive than a resentment of your Majesty's firm and constant adherence to the maintenance of the constitutional rights of Parliament, divested of every possible view of any separate interests of the crown: and we beg leave to assure your Majesty, that the same attachment of your Majesty to the parliamentary authority of Great Britain, which hath provoked the insolence of the chiefs of this rebellion, cannot but operate, as it ought to do, in fixing your Majesty

jeſty ſtill deeper, if poſſible, in the affections of a Britiſh Houſe of Commons.

With reverence and gratitude to Divine Providence, permit us to expreſs our unfeigned joy, and to offer our ſincere congratulations to your Maſteſty, on the ſucceſs which has attended the good conduct and valour of your Maſteſty's officers and forces, both by ſea and land, and the zeal and bravery of the auxiliary troops in your ſervice, in the recovery of Canada, and in the important operations in the province of New York, which give the ſtrongeſt hopes of the moſt deciſive good conſequences,

It is with much ſatisfaction we learn, that your Maſteſty continues to receive aſſurances of amity from the ſeveral courts of Europe: and we thankfully acknowledge your Maſteſty's goodneſs and paternal concern for the happineſs of your people, in your conſtant attention to preſerve the general tranquillity; and it is our moſt earneſt wiſh, that, by your Maſteſty's interpoſition, all miſunderſtandings and differences between two neighbouring powers may be happily reconciled, and Europe ſtill enjoy the bleſſings of peace.

Your faithful Commons conſider it as a duty which they owe to your Maſteſty, and to thoſe they repreſent, to grant your Maſteſty ſuch ſupplies as the weighty conſiderations which your Maſteſty has been pleaſed to ſtate to us, ſhall be found to require; and we have a well-grounded confidence, that, at this time, when the object of the rebels is openly avowed, and clearly underſtood, the general conviction of the juſtice and neceſſity of your Maſteſty's meaſures muſt unite all ranks of your faithful ſubjects in ſupporting your Maſteſty with one mind and heart in the great national cauſe in which you are engaged.

*The King's Answer.*

This very loyal addreſs deſerves my particular thanks. I receive with the higheſt ſatisfaction your affectionate acknowledgment of my conſtant regard for the conſtitutional rights of Parliament, and your zealous aſſurances of confidence and ſupport in this great conteſt, in which the intereſts all my ſubjects are ſo eſſentially concerned.

*November 2.*

Address preſented. Adjourned to Nov. 4.

*November 4.*

No debate. Adjourned to Nov. 6.

*November 6.*

Thin Houſe. Nothing expected.

Mr.



*Mr. Fox* begged the House would not adjourn; an honourable friend of his was coming down to move something of the first consequence; and seeing none of the ministers in the House, he desired they might be sent for; he thought them exceedingly blameable in being absent; whether business was expected or not, they ought constantly to attend their duty in Parliament. [Messengers were sent to Lord North and Lord George Germaine. In a few minutes Lord John Cavendish came, as did also the ministers.]

Lord *John Cavendish* said, that he had seen in the public prints of this day, a most extraordinary declaration, which, if genuine, required the attention and consideration of the House. He read it.

By Richard Viscount Howe of the kingdom of Ireland, and William Howe, Esq. General of his Majesty's Forces in America, the King's commissioners for restoring peace in his Majesty's colonies and plantations in North America, &c.

#### DECLARATION.

Although the Congress, whom the misguided Americans suffer to direct their opposition to a re-establishment of the constitutional government of these provinces, have disavowed every purpose of reconciliation not consonant with their extravagant inadmissible claim of independency; the King's commissioners think fit to declare, that they are equally desirous to confer with his Majesty's well-affected subjects upon the means of restoring the public tranquillity, and establishing a permanent union with every colony as a part of the British empire. The King being most graciously pleased to direct a revision of such of his royal instructions as may be construed to lay an improper restraint upon the freedom of legislation in any of his colonies, and to concur in the revisal of all his acts by which his subjects there may think themselves aggrieved, it is recommended to the inhabitants at large to reflect seriously upon their present condition, and to judge for themselves, whether it be more consistent with their honour and happiness to offer up their lives as a sacrifice to the unjust and precarious cause in which they are engaged, or to return to their allegiance, accept the blessings of peace, and be secured in a free enjoyment of their liberty and properties, upon the true principles of the constitution.

Given at New York, the 19th day of September 1776.

Howe.

W. Howe.

By command of their Excellencies, *H. Strachey*.

On

On this *extraordinary* declaration, he said, he had some observations to make. There was no man more zealous for preserving the liberty of the press than he was. It was always with grief and indignation he beheld it abused, or employed to improper purposes. It was with reluctance he should complain of the abuse of it in the present instance, if the authenticity of the paper now alluded to were disavowed, which he must continue to think it would; because if such a paper *really* existed, it might be well expected its first public appearance would be either in the Gazette, or the Journals of the House. If the paper was a *forgery*, or was spurious, it was a most daring attempt to impose on the public; before he proceeded therefore any further, he thought proper to call on the noble Lord in the blue riband [Lord North] or his noble colleague in office, who sat next him [Lord George Germaine], to tell the House whether the paper was *genuine*.

Lord North said he believed it was; that he heard the contents read, and believed it corresponded pretty faithfully with that which appeared in the public papers. It was not properly in his department; he therefore referred the noble mover and the House, to the noble Lord who sat next him, and to whose office it was transmitted, for *further* information.

Lord George Germaine confessed the authenticity of the paper in question; said he had seen it in print the preceding evening, and believed it to be a faithful copy of that issued at New York by Lord Howe.

Lord John Cavendish then congratulated the House on this gleam of peace and conciliation, though he could not but *express* his *astonishment* at both the *contents* of the declaration, and the extraordinary manner it became first communicated to the public. He observed, that Parliament had been used all along by administration with the most mortifying contempt; commissioners are sent out with an intention of carrying a certain act of parliament into execution, armed at the same time with certain parliamentary powers for restoring peace; these extend no farther than granting pardons, and receiving submissions; yet, wonderful to relate, the *first account* Parliament hear, and *that* through the channel of a newspaper, is, that those commissioners are authorized to answer directly for the Sovereign, and obliquely for the two other branches of the legislature, that he will *concur* in the *revival* of all acts, by which his American subjects are aggrieved.—He said Parliament were rendered ciphers in the whole conduct of the business from its commencement; when their name is wanted, they

they are called on, by way of *requisition*, to sanction acts which render them *abhorred* by their fellow-subjects in *every part* of the empire; when the least appearance of lenient measures is to be held out, the *merit* is all to be attributed to the King and his ministers. It is to *originate* from them alone. Notwithstanding all this, he felt a *dawn* of joy break in on his mind. If ministers were serious, he should not stand upon mere punctilios; yet he thought, to give the negotiation the greater weight and efficacy, that House should, as the *first* proof of their *disposition* to *peace*, co-operate with administration in so desirable a work. It would besides restore ministers to confidence; their professions were disbelieved in America: the motion therefore he was about to make, would be the means of removing the almost universal opinion that prevailed in America, that every ministerial promise was given with some *insidious* intention of *treachery*, *deceit*, *imposition*, or to *divide* them, in order the more easily to *break* their strength, and *subdue* them. To remove so strong an impediment to peace and conciliation; to shew we were in *earnest*, and wished *sincerely* for both; his Lordship moved, "that this House will resolve itself into a committee, to consider of the revisal of all acts of parliament by which his Majesty's subjects in America think themselves aggrieved."

Mr. *Burke* seconded the motion. He begged to know from the noble Lord over the way [Lord North] whether the instructions to the commissioners went the *length* of the offer of revisal held out in the declaration; for without intrenching on that part of the prerogative which promises a *revision* of *such* of the royal instructions as may be construed to lay an improper restraint, &c. it was in his apprehension pretty evident that the latter part of the sentence on which the motion was framed, held out a promise of concurrence on the part of the crown, to revise all acts by which his Majesty's subjects in America think themselves aggrieved. This he looked upon to be *leading* Parliament, not *following* it; he should, however, suspend any decisive opinion on the passage, till the noble Lord had explained it. The text was before us; he wished that the noble Lord would rise and give us the comment; for certainly, either the idea held out in the declaration, meant that Great Britain *intended* to *revise* and concede, or desired the people of America to lay down their arms, and submit to state their grievances, and we will remedy them if we think proper.

Lord

Lord North said he should not enter into a critical, literal, or philological interpretation of the passage in the declaration, which gave rise to the present motion. He would, however, assure the honourable Gentleman, that administration never meant to *relax* in pursuing the claims of this country, so long as its legislative authority was *disputed*. He referred the honourable member to the commission under which the commissioners acted, to their first proclamation, and desired him to compare them with the present, and see if they did not all substantially correspond; whether they did not all tend to the same point, to the restoration of peace to America. This declaration invited the people of America to that restoration; and as a motive of encouragement, as well as with a view of establishing a lasting union, to be rendered permanent, and cemented by mutual advantage, a revival of all acts by which his Majesty's subjects in that country think themselves aggrieved, was held out. His Majesty has promised to concur in those acts, or royal instructions, that depend immediately on himself; he is more explicit; he has engaged that they shall be revised, and tells his colonies that he has already directed his commissioners to that effect. As to the motion made by the noble Lord, he must be obliged to dissent from it for several reasons. Before, however, he proceeded to state those reasons, he would take the liberty to set his Lordship right, as he supposed the error he meant to allude to, led him to make the motion, and support it throughout, in his opinion, on very wrong grounds. The noble Lord's mistake was this; that the promise contained in the declaration was the first of the kind; nothing could be more erroneous. It was the great principle that pervaded the conduct of administration from the beginning. It was the language of Parliament at the very outset. In the address of both Houses, early in the month of February 1775, the conduct since so faithfully pursued, was strongly pressed, and warmly recommended. One great object, nay the leading one, was to hear grievances, to transmit an account of them home; and to engage, on the part of the legislature, that redress would be granted, wherever a just cause for redress existed. That this was the first opportunity the commissioners had to discharge that part of their duty, with any prospect of success; and why any communication of a plan already sanctioned by Parliament, or, more properly speaking, originating from it, should be insisted on till some of the fruits of the measure, thus recommended, became necessary, was more, he confessed, than he could possibly perceive,

ceive.—His reasons for giving a negative to the motion, on this state of the whole question, would, he presumed, be obvious to every member present. America have declared themselves independent : why enter into deliberation about what you are willing to concede, till we know first that they acknowledge our authority ; and after they have returned to us as subjects, till we know what would reasonably content them ? How is it possible to treat, while they avow their sovereignty and independency ? much less, to form legislative regulations for those who, both as subjects and independent states, have all along disputed our power and right of legislation ? Let them acknowledge the right once ; let them fairly point out the constitutional abuse of it, and the grievances flowing from that abuse, and I shall be ready to go into the proposed committee ; or to adopt the most efficacious and speedy measures, not only to remedy real grievances, but even to bend to their prejudices in some instances. In such a case, they would be heard with complaisance, and treated with candour ; but for petitions to be repeatedly presented to this House, denying expressly the legislative authority of Great Britain, is to the last degree nugatory and absurd, and must continue to be ever rejected or unanswered ; for though the purport of the generality of those petitions, substantially, at least by implication, recognise the authority of Parliament, their contents, taken in another light, composed partly of flat denials of the superiority of this country, of assumed facts, and a species of argumentative reasoning, controverting the very power which they are at the instant appealing to, will render such appeals ridiculous and inadmissible, till they accompany them with a clear, explicit, unequivocal acknowledgment of the right.—His Lordship added besides, that the present motion, if agreed to, instead of producing any good consequence, might produce the very worst. The affair was at present in the hands of his Majesty's ministers, by the express advice of Parliament ; the motion might retard it, not that he entertained any great hopes of its success. Still Parliament had advised it ; his Majesty was willing to co-operate in effecting the same purpose, upon every parliamentary, rational, and consistent rule of conduct. On the whole, therefore, he could not possibly discover what service the agreeing with the motion could answer, but he saw many inconveniences and much possible mischief it might be productive of.

Vol. V.

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Mr.

Mr. Fox observed, howsoever *absurd* and *inconsistent* administration had shewed themselves in other respects, in their measures relative to America, and their professed contempt for Parliament, they had been perfectly uniform and consistent. They had all along manifested the most contemptuous treatment of that House. He was always with the majority of the House in one point, though not upon other occasions, in supporting its dignity, privileges, and consequence with the people, which, in every measure relative to America in particular, had been most shamefully violated; every information was denied, or purposely held back. The operations of war, it is true, were communicated with all possible ostentation and parade; but the only proper objects of parliamentary attention were totally neglected, and left to be collected from chance, vague reports, or a newspaper, while the negotiations for peace, in which Parliament and the nation were much more deeply interested, as the welfare of this country more immediately depended upon them, were kept in a state of concealment, as if ministers were *ashamed to own*, as well they might, that after all the blood and treasure which had been spent in the unhappy contest, they are *obliged* in the end to offer those very conditions which they had some years since rejected, with every mark of displeasure and disapprobation. The account from New York, he observed, was received late on Saturday night; an extraordinary Gazette, announcing the retreat of the provincials from that city, was published early on Monday morning; another Gazette followed it the succeeding evening; and yet a syllable of the declaration never transpired. He first heard it at the Opera the preceding evening, and read it that morning in a newspaper; still doubting its being genuine, till he heard it authenticated by the two noble Lords on the opposite bench. He begged to be understood, that he did not make a charge of intentional concealment; but he contended, that ministers were no less culpable than if they concealed it from design; particularly, when the omission included in it the most manifest and mortifying inattention to Parliament, whose sentiments the penner of the above declaration had *virtually*, and, he would add, *audaciously*, engaged for, there being but little or no essential difference, according to the present well-known *pliable* disposition of that House, between a royal promise to concur in the revival of certain acts of the British legislature, and an actual solemn engagement of the whole legislature for its due and faithful performance.

14

In America, he said, all was peace, conciliation, and parental tenderness; in England, nothing but subjugation, unconditional submission, and a war of conquest. With that view administration procured a pamphlet to be written and sent to America, where thousands of them were distributed *gratis*; while in England the title was not so much as known, till after the publication on the other side the Atlantic. Publications of a very different tendency are encouraged here. America is to be subdued; *taxes* are to be obtained; charters are to be modified or annihilated at pleasure. These doctrines secure a party, and the bulk of the people on this side of the water; while the most moderate measures and fascinating promises are held out on the other, in order insidiously to trepan and deceive. He returned to what he called the shameful inattention and neglect which ministers had shewn in their conduct towards Parliament; and as government had taken so much pains to conceal the proclamation alluded to, he had strong reasons to suspect, that other matters of a similar nature were suppressed, and never permitted to see the light; if there have been any such, why have not Parliament been made acquainted with them? Is it not reasonable, that this House should know them? He then addressed and asked the treasury-bench if every supply they demanded had not been granted? Why then, in this, as well as every other instance, keep back information, or, which was the same thing, neglect to give it to Parliament, which had acted so openly, and put such confidence in ministers? What was the return? either a downright, designed imposition, or the most gross nonsense. What do the commissioners promise in the King's name? That being most graciously pleased to concur in the revival of all acts, &c. Does his Majesty, at any time, or upon any occasion, concur in the revival of any acts of any kind? He may concur in the repeal of an act, or in any amendment made in an act which comes in the shape of a bill, waiting for the royal assent; but for promising to concur in the revival of a law which implies examination and amendment, in stages that he can possibly take no part—it is rank ignorance or gross deceit. Besides, though ministers were serious, the promise could not be fulfilled, without supposing, that the opinion of Parliament was just what ministers *pleased* to dictate; for what signifies what his Majesty's good dispositions may be, since Parliament, it is well known, thinks differently? If, therefore, revision or revival, he said, meant any thing, it meant a repeal, which

it was impossible to expect from the present Parliament, as they had so frequently refused any motion, overture, or proposition, tending even that way. He finished with observing, that the commissioners, especially Lord Howe, were known to be friends to conciliation; and for that reason, were not sent out till so late in the season, that government knew the Americans must have declared for independency, *before they arrived*. He declared it as his firm opinion, that there could be *no* peace in America, without a complete relinquishing on our part of the claim of taxation; that the Congress might well call the propositions of the court of Great Britain insidious, *if* the House of Commons refused to support the declaration of the commissioners: that the expressions in the declaration were complained of as not being clear; but that whenever an expression was represented as not clear, the act accompanying it must be taken as its commentary. If, then, the declaration in question is not clear, how must America understand it, when by the vote of this House, this day, should the noble Lord's motion be negatived, they shall plainly perceive, that the Commons of Great Britain had peremptorily refused to *concur* in rendering his Majesty's gracious dispositions effective?

*Mr. Wedderburne.* The reasons which have been given, Mr. Speaker, for agreeing to the present motion, are, I must confess, such as by no means convince me. I have not a doubt but the noble Lord who made it, wishes for nothing so much, as to accelerate the means of peace;—and my reason for opposing it is, that I think it would effectually mar the whole design. It is at present in the hands of the commissioners, regularly in the common and natural course of business; but to comply with this motion would be at once to take it out of their hands, and to raise jealousies in the Americans, at the designs or powers of those commissioners. Such a conduct here, might be productive of the worst consequences.—It might, in the first instance, be deemed an act of *submission* on our part, *not* of favour or condescension to those who look upon themselves as a sovereign state, and actually deny our authority. It would discredit the commissioners; and throw difficulties in the way of the negotiation, now probably begun; because, by giving them the present proposed sanction, it would point out that they were *not before* armed with parliamentary powers, adequate to the professed objects of their commission. On the other hand, it may be productive of evil, as it compels us to give the pro-



proposition a negative, which is far from being the disposition of the House, when America shall acknowledge the supreme legislative right of this country, and by such acknowledgment lay a just constitutional claim to our favour and protection. Let it be considered what is the present situation of the colonies. They are in a state of declared independency.—Would you admit that independency, or treat with them as independent states?—Or could you, consistently with common sense and prudence, revise acts by way of obliging those, whose principal object at present is not such revision, but to render themselves free from all connexion with you as their superiors? It has been observed, that the King has answered too much for the legislature of this kingdom in the expressions of the proclamation in question.—It appears to me very different, Sir.—His Majesty there speaks only as the head and mouth of the nation and the legislature, by assuring them that the legislative power is ready and willing to hear their grievances, and revise any of their acts which may prove grievances. To think the words of the proclamation mean any thing else, is to torture them strangely. Relative to these grievances, what are they which we can enter into a revision of? The principal that have been mentioned to-day, are, taxation and their charters:—And would you enter upon the question of taxation by way of a means of reconciliation?—Impossible!—There is at present but one point which must be settled as a preliminary; it is that of independency; if they adhere, as I have no doubt they will, to that, there can be no discussion of other points; it is in vain to think of it. And as to their charters, they are not at all the question at present; for restore their charter of King William, will they be satisfied? No. They are as unwilling to submit to the terms of those charters, as to the Boston acts—they openly declare this. Hence, therefore, I may fairly and reasonably assert, that till the spirit of independency is subdued, it is idle to come to any resolutions or revisions, as means of conciliation. Take the sword out of the hand of the governing part of America, and I have not a doubt but a very considerable part of that country will return to its obedience with as much rapidity as it revolted. Is it possible, that gentlemen can give their attention so much to one side of the question, and read one side only, so as to imagine the Americans are so free under their present government, as to have any reason to wish for a continuance of it? The very contrary is the fact; the Congress

does not govern America ; it tyrannizes over it ; the power and punishment of imprisonment, as practised there, are tyrannical to the highest degree, and utterly inconsistent with every idea of freedom. The liberty of the press is annihilated ; a printer that dared to print any thing contrary to their system and interests, would be instantly ruined—nor is even the freedom of private letters, or private conversation, permitted ; destruction hangs over the man who ventures to write, or express a sentiment in opposition to their opinions. This horrid tyranny is what we may rationally hope to be so far dissolved, from the difference of the troops on both sides, as to enable the oppressed tyrannized Americans safely to avow their real opinions, and to return without danger to their duty.—As to a point which the honourable Gentleman much insists on,—the design in administration of keeping the proclamation secret,—it appears strange to me that any person should think of such a thing, unless from the mode of reasoning which he is so ready to adopt, that, having so much folly in it, it is the more likely to be the work of this ministry.—Folly indeed to make that a secret, which was posted upon the walls of New York ; and this I think is reason enough why it was not inserted in the Gazette—there was no call for it. I should ask the House pardon, for having troubled them so long upon matters which appear to me of little consequence ; but before I sit down, I should remark, that it appears a very sudden and unexpected way of bringing in a debate, after it was so generally understood that no business of any consequence was to come on in the House before the recess ;—but as I was not at the Opera last night, where this manœuvre was planned, I must be excused if I have not treated it in all its parts in the manner some might expect.

Mr. *Burke*. Rejoiced I am, that the learned Gentleman has regained, if not his talent, at least his voice ; that as he would not, or could not reply the other night, to my honourable friend, charmed as he must have been with the powerful reasoning of that eloquent speech, he had the grace to be silent. On that memorable occasion he lay prostrate on the *oblivious pool*, confounded and *astounded* : though called upon by the whole satanic host, he lay prostrate, dumb-founded, and unable to utter a single syllable, and suffered the goads of the two noble Lords to prick him till he scarcely betrayed a single sign of animal or mental sensibility. Why, Sir, would he not be silent now,—instead of attempting to answer, what in truth was

was unanswerable? But the learned Gentleman has now called to his assistance the bayonets of 12,000 Hessians; and as he thinks it absurd to reason at present with the Americans, he tells us, that by the healing, soothing, merciful measures of foreign swords, at the breasts of those unhappy people, their understandings would be enlightened, and they would be enabled to comprehend the subtilties of his logic. It was well said, on another occasion, that your speech demands an army!—and I may say, that the learned Gentleman demands blood; reasoning, he says, is vain;—the *sword* must *convince* America, and clear up their clouded apprehensions. The learned Gentleman's abilities surely desert him, if he is obliged to call such a coarse argument as an army to his assistance;—not that I mean any thing reflecting on his parts—I always esteem, and sometimes dread, his talents. But has he told you why commissioners were not sent sooner to America? Has he explained that essential point? Not a jot. Why, after the act passed for them, why were they delayed full seven months, and not permitted to sail till May; and why was the commission appointing them delayed till the 6th of that month?—Answer this. The blood and devastation that followed, was owing to this delay; upon your conscience it ought to lay a heavy load. If the measure was right, and necessary in order for conciliation, as the King declared in his speech at the opening of that session, why was it not executed at a time in which it could be effectual; instead of being *purposely deferred* to one when it could not possibly answer any end but that of adding hypocrisy to treachery, and insult and mockery to cruelty and oppression? By this delay you drove them into the declaration of independency; *not* as a matter of *choice*, but *necessity*;—and now they have declared it, you bring it as an argument to prove, that there can be no other reasoning used with them, but the sword: what is this but declaring, that you were originally determined not to *prevent*, but to *punish* rebellion; not to use conciliation, but an army; *not* to *convince*, but to *destroy*?—Such were the effects of those seven months cruelly lost, to which every mischief that has happened since, must be attributed.

But still the learned Gentleman persists, that nothing but the commissioners can give peace to America;—it is beyond the power of this House. What was the result of the conference with the delegates from the Congress? Why, we are told, that they met in order to be convinced that taxation is no grievance—no tyranny used to be the phrase; but that is out

of fashion now. Then, Sir, what an insult to all America, was it to send as commissioners, none but the commanders of the fleet and army to negotiate peace!—Did it not shew how much you were determined, that the only arguments you meant to use, were your broad-swords and broad-sides? Let me assert, Sir, that the doctrines to be laid down in America, would not have been too trivial an occasion, even for the reasoning abilities of the learned Gentleman himself.—But, Sir, you may think to carry these doctrines into execution, and be mistaken too;—the battle is not yet fought; but, if it was fought, and the wreath of victory adorned your brow, still is not that continent conquered; witness the behaviour of one miserable woman, who with her single arm did that which an army of a hundred thousand men could not do—arrested your progress, in the moment of your success. This miserable being was found in a cellar, with her visage besmeared and smutted over, with every mark of rage, despair, resolution, and the most *exalted heroism*, buried in combustibles, in order to fire New York, and perish in its *ashes*;—she was brought forth, and knowing that she would be condemned to die, upon being asked her purpose, said, *To fire the city!* and was determined to omit no opportunity of doing what her country called for. Her train was laid and fired; and it is worthy of your attention, how Providence was pleased to make use of those humble means to serve the American cause, when open force was used in vain.—In order to bring things to this unhappy situation, did not you pave the way, by a succession of acts of tyranny?—For this, you shut up their ports;—cut off their fishery;—annihilated their charters;—and governed them by an army. Sir, the recollection of these things, being the evident causes of what we have seen, is more than what *ought to be endured*. This it is, that has *burnt* the noble city of New York; that has planted the bayonet in the bosoms of my principals;—in the bosom of the city, where alone your wretched government once boasted the only friends she could number in America.—If this was not the only succession of events you determined, and therefore looked for, why was America left without any power in it, to give security to the persons and property of those who were and wished to be loyal?—this was essential to government; you did not, and might therefore be well said to have abdicated the government.

I have been reading a work given us by a country that is perpetually employed in productions of merit—I believe it is not published yet—the History of Philip the Second; and

I there

I there find, that that tyrannical monarch never dreamt of the tyranny exerted by this administration.—Gods! Sir, shall we be told, that you cannot analyze grievances?—that you can have no communication with rebels, because they have declared for independency?—Shall you be told this, when the tyrant Philip did it after the same circumstance in the Netherlands?—By edict he allowed their ships to enter their ports, and suffered them to depart in peace;—he treated with them;—made them propositions;—and positively declared that he would redress all their grievances.—And James II. when he was sailing from France, at the head of a formidable force, assisted like you by foreign troops, and having a great party in the kingdom, still offered specific terms;—while his exceptions of pardon were few, among the rest my honourable friend's ancestor, Sir Stephen Fox:—But you will offer none;—you simply tell them to lay down their arms, and then you will do just as you please. Could the most cruel conqueror say less? Had you conquered the Devil himself in hell, could you be less liberal? No! Sir, you would offer no terms;—you meant to drive them to the declaration of independency:—and even after it was issued, ought by your offers to have reversed the effect. You would not receive the remonstrance which I brought you from New York, because it denied your rights to certain powers;—yet the late King of France received the remonstrances from his parliaments, that expressly denied his right to the powers he was in the constant exercise of—answered them, and even redressed some of the grievances which those very remonstrances complained of, though he refused to grant what he thought more peculiarly intrenched upon his own authority.

In this situation, Sir, shocking to say, are we called upon by another proclamation to go to the altar of the Almighty, with war and vengeance in our hearts, instead of the peace of our blessed Saviour;—he said, “My peace I give you;” —but we are, on this fast, to have war only in our hearts and mouths; war against our brethren.—Till our churches are purified from this abominable service, I shall consider them, not as the temples of the Almighty, but as the synagogues of Satan. An act not more *infamous*, respecting its political purposes, than *blasphemous* and *profane* as a pretended act of national devotion, when the people are called upon, in the most solemn and awful manner, to repair to church, to partake of a sacrament, and at the foot of the altar to commit sacrilege, to perjure themselves publicly by charging their

their American brethren with the horrid crime of rebellion, with propagating "*specious falsehoods*," when either the charge must be *notoriously false*, or those who make it, not knowing it to be true, call Almighty God to witness to not a *specious*, but a most *audacious* and *blasphemous* falsehood.

Mr. Rous entered into an *abstract* discourse on the *nature* of civil government, and applied his reasoning on the subject to the grounds of the present dispute subsisting between Great Britain and her colonies. From thence he proceeded to state the various difficulties which presented themselves on either hand on the subject of taxation: whether the right was suspended or concealed on our part, or acknowledged or exercised on the other, it would be liable to strong objections. However, there was *one* point, as a grand preliminary, which must be the *basis* of every conciliatory step on either side; that was a clear unequivocal acknowledgment of the legislative supremacy of the British Parliament. If that was *not* to be obtained but by the force of arms, he confessed, that he was most eagerly desirous that arms should be resorted to; that probably the advantages we had lately obtained at Long Island, and in the neighbourhood of New York, might give us an opportunity of establishing a civil government in that province, the example and influence of which, when accompanied with a *promise* of a *redress* of *real* grievances, might be productive of the most happy and salutary consequences.—After making a great many observations, he concluded thus:—"That he would be better pleased to see Britain *dying* of the wounds she might receive in this unnatural conflict given by her rebellious ungrateful children, than consent to *one condescending step* that might tend to tarnish her former glories."

Mr. Byng observed, that administration had all along acted upon system, and, however mistaken they might be as to some of the effects of their measures, they never lost sight of the great object they had in contemplation from the beginning; that was, to compel America to consent to unconditional submission, which was, in other words, to consent to be *slaves*; or, in the event of their refusal and consequent resistance, to endeavour to *subdue* or *extirpate* them.—This he contended was the great pervading principle which governed the American system, and such was the intention of those to whom carrying it into execution was committed.—The opposition given to the motion made by the noble Lord near him

him (Lord J. Cavendish), was of a piece with the whole of the ministerial conduct since the commencement of this business.—Ministers in private, and their runners in public, were constantly known to load the officers intrusted with the superior commands with reproaches, or flatly to charge them with disobedience of orders, and with the commission of acts to which they were not authorized.—Such, he presumed, was the true purport of what was now urged against the motion. The declaration imports *one* thing, the obvious contents *another*; however, if a different interpretation should be put on it by the Americans, we still have two ways to get rid of it, and still keep up a semblance of good faith; for we retain the right of explaining our own meaning, or of disowning the declaration as exceeding the powers granted by the commission, and, if more closely pressed, of exceeding the powers granted by Parliament; so that whatever the declaration promises, can be of no avail, but to *mislead* America by false lights. Our aim is unconditional submission; every concession beyond that, we can explain away, and disavow.—He finally observed, that this underhand conduct on the part of administration, answered more purposes than one; it answered in a military, as well as a civil capacity, to screen and varnish over, as well as to mislead and betray. Thus they had the address and effrontery to shift the censure they would have so deservedly incurred off their own shoulders. This he instanced in the persons of Carleton, Howe, Clinton, and several others, who were represented by their runners about town, and even by some of the principals, as *mad, ignorant, rash, or inactive*, according as it suited the present moment.—He should not have particularly adverted to those circumstances, he said, if it had not called to his recollection the *fate* of a near relation, who fell a sacrifice to the same treacherous motives of self-acquittal.

Lord George Germaine next spoke, and said, he arose to clear up some matters of fact. That the noble Lord, who made the motion, had supposed that he received the proclamation with the dispatch from General and Lord Howe; that, on the contrary, the proclamation was left at Falmouth with other matters, and coming up to town in the ordinary way, did not reach his hands till Monday morning, when the extraordinary Gazette was already published. That he forbore to insert it in Tuesday's Gazette, because he really did not think it of importance enough; that it was not concealed, many copies having been passed against the

the walls of New York, and many sent all over America. That as it was only part of a treaty, he thought it improper to publish it, and he conceived it was altogether unusual, as he remembered the conversations between Lord Chatham (when Mr. Pitt) and Monsieur de Bussy, previous to the finishing the treaty of peace with France, were never published. With regard to the great American question, he said, it was endless to argue upon it. Every gentleman present, he doubted not, had formed his opinion, and that the House might debate to eternity without altering the different ideas of different men. That he, from his opinion, called the Americans rebels, and approved of the measures pursued against them by government; that he was averse to the present motion, as it would deprive General and Lord Howe of the honour of making peace with America, an honour which he flattered himself the gentlemen on the opposite side of the House wished them to have. As to the proclamation for a fast, he had before this day only heard it read once in council, and therefore from what the honourable Gentleman had said, he had been induced to imagine, that the Archbishop who drew it up might have made some mistake; but that he had now read it, and thought it a very good and a very proper proclamation. His Lordship then read it at the table, and having finished, declared the words, "specious falsehoods," were properly introduced; he bid gentlemen recollect the American declaration for independency, and then ask, if the rebels had not published "specious falsehoods?" He bid them read their several other publications, and he doubted not they would all agree with him, that the assertion was most true; but he observed, he could easily account for his not seeing the matter in the same light as the honourable Gentleman opposite him; he was neither so accomplished an orator, nor so excellent a divine!

Mr. *Dunning* opened with observing, that he was not at the Opera (alluding to Mr. Solicitor General) on Tuesday evening, and as he did not imagine any newspaper contained any matter likely to entertain him, he had not read one that day; that he came down to Westminster-hall in the way of his profession, and had come from thence into that House, without any previous knowledge of the debate; but as the proclamation, read from the newspaper produced by the noble Lord his friend, had been declared to be authentic by the noble Lord in the blue *stomach*, and the other noble Lord who sat next him (Lord North



North and Germaine), it was evident that newspaper information was to be trusted as much as that given in any other manner. He declared his amazement, that the motion which had been made should be deemed sudden and ill-timed; he said, he knew of no time more proper for appointing a committee for the revision of such acts as were deemed grievances by the Americans than the present. That the question was not now, what should be altered, and what should remain in force; that those were considerations to be agitated when they came into a committee; that it was high time the legislature of Great Britain gave America reason to suppose they would not always turn a deaf ear to her complaints; that it appeared by the proclamation of Lord Howe that he had promised in the King's name, that such acts as they thought grievances should be revised; that the promise went to an assertion; that Parliament, as a branch of the legislature, would enable the King to keep his word; that therefore it was high time Parliament convinced America how ready they were to second the King's endeavours to restore peace, by beginning the good work with a revival of the acts which oppressed America, and a removal of those obstacles to a reconciliation. He said, the remarks of a learned Gentleman (who had taken the other side of the question) relative to the futility of the House's taking into their consideration what they thought the grievances of America, because it might afterwards appear they were not considered by the Americans as grievances, was notoriously ill-founded. That the Gentleman did himself and the House much wrong, if, because Parliament had collectively been blind to the several petitions and publications of America, he supposed that the members as individuals had been equally blind, and neglected to peep into the petitions which had been presented. That all the members had made themselves masters of the subject, and that the House knew the grievances America had to complain of, was well aware what she felt as grievances, and might with great certainty proceed to redress them. He said, the learned Gentleman had given some new ideas of liberty; he had declared, that America must be subdued, America must be conquered in order to her deliverance. This sort of deliverance was to him a new consequence of conquest; from all that he had read or heard, he never knew that a conquered people were a free people, and he believed the House would join with him in supposing, that from time immemorial the very  
reverse

reverse of freedom had been the fate of the conquered. As to the observation, that Lord Howe's first proclamation was necessary to inform the public that Lord Howe was arrived in America, he said, it might also have been proper to have published the present proclamation to shew that he was still there. The noble Lord [Lord George Germaine], he said, had accommodated himself to all parties, in his reasons for not publishing the declaration in the Gazette. To those who thought it ought to have been made public, he had declared, any man might read it in the newspapers; and to those who wished and thought it ought to be kept private, he had said, none could read it but those who chose to take a voyage to New York, where they would find it pasted on the walls of the half-burnt houses; and that he had not printed it in the Gazette, because Lord Chatham's private negotiations with Monsieur de Bussy were not printed there. He should give his vote for the motion, although, he said, he knew it would not be carried; and ended with declaring, in reply to Lord George Germaine's observation about the Fast proclamation, that he thought a church an improper place to promulgate a court creed in, and that so to act was to profane the place of worship.

The House divided. For the motion 47, against it 109. Adjourned to Nov. 8.

*November 8.*

The House in committee. Mr. *Buller* moved, "That 45,000 seamen, including 10,129 marines, be employed for 1777."

Sir *George Younge* said, he should not oppose the motion, though he must condemn the service for which the greatest part of the seamen were destined. But while he approved of putting this country in a proper state of defence, he must reprobate that ruinous system upon which the present civil war was founded. He adverted to the declaration made by Lord and General Howe, and positively affirmed the ministers were by that declaration pledged to a reversal of their system with America.

The honourable Mr. *Luttrell* said, that the naval strength of this nation, for the protection of Great Britain and Ireland, was by no means equal to the account publicly given by some of the most responsible characters in office. So far from 23 ships of the line fit for sea, as was asserted at the opening of Parliament by the first naval authority in Great Britain,

Britain, and positively insisted on by a noble Lord over the way (Lord George Germaine), in contradiction to real, though melancholy facts stated by another right honourable member (Colonel Barré); we had not, on the first day of the present session, a sufficient number of men to complete the complements of 13 sail of the 23 guardships then in commission, so as to render them in a condition to encounter an enemy; and yet the highest war establishment of this country is lower as to numbers than that of any other naval power in the universe. He conceived it to be the immediate duty of Parliament to take measures for putting these kingdoms in a proper state of naval defence, and not suffer the most useful of the ships, and the flower of our seamen, to be sent 3000 miles off, on a fruitless, romantic attempt, to reduce the vast continent of America to unconditional submission; utterly lost to these dominions (to borrow the words of a very emphatic orator [Mr. Solicitor General] of the long robe) "by the folly of a few, the madness of some, and the evil designs of many, who have gone headlong into these desperate enterprises." Let us be the more careful of what yet remains of empire and of liberty, nor leave these islands in a defenceless state, while our confederate enemies of France and Spain actually command all the European seas with a fleet of 50 men of war. We should be told, perhaps, that it is highly improper thus publicly to expose the weakness of our navy to those inimical powers, of whom such strong apprehensions are now expressed. If there was a ray of hope consistent with common sense, that such specious falsehoods of government could impose upon the clear-sighted statesmen on the other side of the channel, or upon their ministers or emissaries on this side, we might allow that we had in the noble Earl the best commissioner of the admiralty that ever presided at that board; I mean so long as the safety of the nation depends upon concealing or disguising the truth; for I verily believe him to be the only man of his rank and education in these realms; I am sure he is the only professed moralist, who, after reiterated detection in the grossest impositions, and deep-laid fictions, can rally again, and return to the charge with so sanctimonious a composure, so dauntless an effrontery, that the rarity and perfection of the vice almost constitutes it a virtue.

Mr. *Attorney General* called Mr. Luttrell to order, appealing to the committee, whether such language, and so personal an attack, ought to be suffered?

Hon.

Hon. Mr. *Luttrell* said, he would persevere in his privilege as a representative of the people, to set forth, in as strong colours as he pleased, the official faults or iniquities of any of the public ministers of this country, where he was ready to support his allegations by circumstantial proofs.

The *Attorney General* insisted, that as there was no accusation formally before the House, Mr. *Luttrell* could not, consistently with the rules of the House, proceed any further.

Hon. Mr. *Luttrell* replied, that he would, at all hazards, proceed in acquitting himself of his duty.—He knew (with great deference to that learned and respectable Gentleman) he was within the law of Parliament, and the rights of every individual member of it; and that the plea of wanting a formal accusation was a chicane which should avail nothing; for if the ministry would suffer him to carry a motion for the returns and state of the navy on which to ground his charges, he assured the House he would do no less in consequence of those abuses and mal-practices which must on inquiry come out, than follow such a motion by an address to his Majesty, “that he would be graciously pleased, for the welfare of his people, to remove the Earl of Sandwich, not only from the office he now holds, but from the royal councils and presence for ever.” He then proceeded, and observed, that to give the first commissioner of the naval department the palm of specious falsehoods, while he had so many competitors in the ministerial fraternity, was indeed no trifling compliment. He acknowledged he was run hard by those men who give out to the world, that they have offered conditions of peace, and a real redress of grievances to the people of America, which offers have been rejected by those men on the treasury bench, who advance, that the Congress have disavowed every purpose of conciliation short of independence.—What conditions of peace, founded on a redress of real grievances, have been offered to the Congress, or any delegates in whom the Americans put a trust? Shall we again be insulted and nauseated with your ambiguous, hypocritical, and insidious placarts and proclamations, tending only to allure and cajole a few dastard renegadoes from the cause of constitutional liberty to your tyrannical standards? We were told by a noble Lord, the other night, “that he would never allow the legislative claims of this country to be a grievance.” These were his very words, I took them down in writing at the instant he uttered them.

One



friend, would stand as forward as any gentleman in opposition could possibly do to second it.

Lord North also got up in behalf of Lord Sandwich; said, his Majesty had in that noble Earl a very capable and zealous servant, who ought not to be thus attacked in his absence, from a collection of loose surmises, and low newspaper abuse; that, if the honourable Member would inform himself of the real desert of the noble Earl in his official character, he must retract his imputation, and admit, that the most laborious and eminent public services had been rendered this empire since he came to the naval administration; neither could any of his predecessors (upon the whole) boast equal pretensions to the applause of this country, and the respect of every unprejudiced individual.

Lord Palmerstone spoke in support of Lord Sandwich, and the present board of admiralty; but he said, that in commending the noble Earl's assiduity and talents, he would not be understood to detract in any degree from the praise due to Sir Edward Hawke (now Lord Hawke), with whom he had likewise been in office. His Lordship acquitted himself with a propriety of temper, and in terms becoming the peculiar situation of having served his Majesty at the admiralty-board, under three successive administrations.

Mr. Buller stated the number of mariners in the British ports as sufficient for the defence of these dominions, and maintenance of our national honour upon the seas, against any combined powers whatever that might attempt hostilities.

[Mr. Luttrell rose to reply to the several advocates for the noble Earl; but some strong expressions falling from him, which seemed applied to Lord Mulgrave, the latter was entering upon too warm an altercation, when a cooler dialogue was recommended to both Gentlemen by Sir Edward Astley and Sir Fletcher Norton, the latter of whom desired the chairman to read the resolution, in order to preserve order, by keeping both the honourable Gentlemen to the proper subject contained in the resolution.]

Mr. Luttrell told Lord Mulgrave, he was not apt to become a convert in principle or persuasion; after he had once formed his mind upon the best lights his understanding could furnish; that the two noble Lords on the opposite bench did him injustice, when they imputed his conduct and accusations to anonymous slander, or a vague unsubstantial testimony of any nature whatever; that when this hostile service of the noble Earl came to be inquired into, it would be found he had

had been intrusted annually with twice as much of the public money as any one of his predecessors in office; therefore he ought certainly to have the fleet in a more formidable and respectable condition; but certain it was, that a great part of this treasure was not applied to the uses for which it was granted; there had been a multitude of errors, and much corruption, which he was prepared to produce evidence of, whenever the House would give a candid hearing. He thanked Lord Mulgrave for offering to second his inquiry, but could never have expected such a favour from a member for Huntingdon.

Sir *Hugh Palliser* closed the arguments in the committee, by saying, he hoped the House would take confidence in the present strength of our naval establishment at home, and sufficiency of ships and men.

The question being put, was agreed to. The House was resumed, and Mr. Speaker took the chair.

Hon. Mr. *Luttrell* then moved, as the first evidence necessary, on which to establish the truth of his charges, and even for the material information of Parliament, independent of the proposed address to the King, to displace the Earl of Sandwich; "that the proper officers do lay on the table the latest weekly accounts received at the Admiralty, prior to the opening of the present session of Parliament, from the admiral, or commander in chief, of all his Majesty's ships and vessels at the several departments of Portsmouth, Chatham, and Plymouth, together with the latest week's account received at the said board, prior to the commencement of this session, of all ships and vessels of war employed on channel service, or on the coast of Great Britain or Ireland." Mr. *Luttrell* said, that he would shew by these accounts, that the information given to both Houses of Parliament, and the public, on the first day of this session, of the state of the navy, when it was officially alleged that we had 23 ships of the line fit to take the seas, and many more in great forwardness, and that our fleet at home was then a full match for the combined squadrons of France and Spain, should they visit these coasts, was a dangerous, wicked, and wilful imposition on Parliament, and the whole nation. We had not, he said, near 7000 effective men in the 23 guardships put together, and, to complete their complements for war, near double that number would be requisite. Our frigates, sloops, and small craft, were most of them upon remote service; and those ships of the line, put lately into commission, alleged by the American

frican secretary (Lord George Germaine) to be "in great forwardness," had not, one with another, a twentieth part of their war complement; neither were the returns of the impressed men in and about this metropolis, on the first night of issuing the warrants, above one third in number of what the runners of government were ordered to spread abroad. At Portsmouth, and its environs, the intention of impressing men was known to all the seafaring people 24 hours before the press-gangs were in motion; so we succeeded but ill in that quarter, and still worse on the western coasts. In short, if the people of England knew the real state of our marine power and resources; and the great superiority of our natural enemies in these seas, they would scarce suffer so many ships and men to be dispatched to the furthest quarter of the globe, even on a more rational and profitable pursuit than the reduction of our American colonies to despotism, before we had secured the seat of our empire from invasion and ruin. He was confident, after what had passed, after the impatience of the noble Earl's friends to bring him to a fair ordeal, he said, he should be seconded in this motion by one of the lords of the Admiralty, or the noble Lord (Lord Mulgrave) in his eye.

The *Attorney General* argued strenuously against receiving the motion. And the friends of administration were for throwing it out without further discussion.

Right hon. *T. Townshend*, after shewing that the motion was strictly parliamentary, and of material import to the business then before the House, seconded it; and asked what opinion any unprejudiced person could entertain of those gentlemen who so strenuously encouraged the honourable Gentleman in his inquiry, and now shrunk from the trial. This clarification and unwarranted step of withholding the first official papers called for by the honourable Member, would stamp a sentence on their friend and patron, not much to his honour for his advantage.

Mr. *W. Hartley* likewise supported Mr. Luttrell, and drew a very mournful picture of this country in its present condition, and a very odious one of the administration, and the systems on which they act.

Hon. Mr. *Luttrell* insisted, that the absolute management of the maritime power of the British empire was too arduous, too solid, too important a trust, to be committed to a *bon vivant* of Lord Sandwich's levity of disposition and known depravity



of conduct, especially now the piping hours of jubilee and dalliance are at an end; and we ought to prepare for naval operations of the most substantial and critical import to the safety of these islands. The question being put, the motion was negatived without a division.

November 9.

Report of the committee on the number of seamen, adjourned to November 11.

November 11.

Land-tax, four shillings. No debate.

November 12.

No debate.

November 13.

The same.

November 14.

The same.

November 15.

Estimates presented. And,

Resolved, That a number of land forces, including three thousand two hundred and thirteen invalids, amounting to twenty thousand seven hundred and thirty-four effective men, commission and non-commissioned officers included, be employed for the year 1777.

Resolved, That there be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the charge of twenty thousand seven hundred and thirty-four effective men, for guards, garrisons, and other his Majesty's land forces, in Great Britain, Jersey, and Guernsey, for the year 1777

£.	s.	d.
648,009	16	5

Resolved, That there be granted to his Majesty, for the pay of the general and general staff officers in Great Britain, for the year 1777

11,473	18	6½
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Resolved, That there be granted to his Majesty, for maintaining his Majesty's forces and garrisons in the plantations and Africa, including those in garrison at Minorca and Gibraltar, and for provisions for the forces in North America, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Gibraltar, the Ceded Islands, and Africa, for the year 1777

949,720	11	3
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Resolved, That there be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the charge of the

F 3

difference

difference of pay between the British and  
 Irish establishment of one regiment of light  
 dragoons, and six regiments of foot, serving  
 in North America, for the year 1777

£. 47,178 0 3

Resolved, That there be granted to his  
 Majesty, for defraying the charge of five  
 Hanoverian battalions of foot at Gibraltar  
 and Minorca, and for provisions for the  
 three battalions of the said troops at Gib-  
 raltar, for the year 1777

96,674 19 4½

Resolved, That there be granted to his  
 Majesty, for defraying the charge of twelve  
 thousand six hundred and sixty-seven men,  
 the troops of the landgrave of Hesse Cassel,  
 in the pay of Great Britain, together with  
 the subsidy for the year 1777, pursuant to  
 treaty

336,932 1 6½

Resolved, That there be granted to his  
 Majesty, for defraying the charge of a re-  
 giment of foot of Hanau, in the pay of  
 Great Britain, together with the subsidy,  
 pursuant to the treaty with the hereditary  
 prince of Hesse Cassel, for the year 1777

18,181 19 6½

Resolved, That there be granted to his  
 Majesty, for defraying the charge of a re-  
 giment of foot of Waldeck, in the pay of  
 Great Britain, together with the subsidy,  
 pursuant to treaty with the reigning prince  
 of Waldeck, for the year 1777

17,371 8 2½

Resolved, That there be granted to his  
 Majesty, for defraying the charge of four  
 thousand three hundred men, the troops of  
 the reigning duke of Brunswick, in the pay  
 of Great Britain, together with the subsidy  
 for the year 1777, pursuant to treaty

93,947 19 8

Resolved, That there be granted to his  
 Majesty, for defraying the charge of provi-  
 sions for the foreign troops serving in North  
 America, in the pay of Great Britain, for  
 the year 1777

41,427 17 7½

Resolved, That there be granted to his  
 Majesty, to make good a deficiency in the  
 sum voted last session of parliament, for the  
 charge of the troops of the landgrave of Hesse

Cassel,

Cassel, to the 24th of December 1776

£ 40 2 11  
6,617 5 34

Resolved, That there be granted to his Majesty, to make good a deficiency in the sum voted last session of parliament for the charge of the regiment of foot of Hanau, to the 24th of December 1776

1,013 16 10 1/2

Resolved, That there be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the charge of artillery for the foreign troops in the pay of Great Britain, pursuant to treaties, for the year 1777

26,053 7 4

Resolved, That there be granted to his Majesty, towards defraying the charge of artillery for the foreign troops in the pay of Great Britain, pursuant to treaties, for the year 1776

5,152 12 3 1/2

Resolved, That (granted to his Majesty last session of parliament, for defraying the charge of the artillery of the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, in the pay of Great Britain, for the year 1776) there be granted to his Majesty, towards defraying the charge of artillery for the foreign troops in the pay of Great Britain, pursuant to treaties, for the year 1776

13,973 16 0

Resolved, That (granted to his Majesty in the last session of parliament, for defraying the charge of the artillery of Hanau, in the pay of Great Britain, pursuant to treaty) there be granted to his Majesty, towards defraying the charge of artillery for the foreign troops in the pay of Great Britain, pursuant to treaties, for the year 1776

3,383 6 8

Resolved, That there be granted to his Majesty (out of the monies or savings remaining of the grant of last session of parliament, for the charge of a regiment of foot of Waldeck, in the pay of Great Britain, for the year 1776) towards defraying the charge of artillery for the foreign troops in the pay of Great Britain, pursuant to treaties, for the year 1776

403 19 9 1/2

Resolved, That there be granted to his Majesty, for the charge of the office of ord-

nance, for land service, for the year *£. s. d.*  
 1777. 320,111 18 11

Resolved, That there be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the expense of service performed by the office of ordnance for land service, and also provided for by parliament, in 1776

272,705 18 1

[These resolutions were all agreed to without any debate. The gentlemen in opposition had repeatedly said to their friends, that it was in vain to oppose the measures of the Court in Parliament; the Ministry had a regular and fixed majority; accordingly they seldom attended, except upon private business. This day gave a signal proof of this opinion. Sir George Savile, Mr. Burke, &c. who attended the House this day upon a private bill, as soon as Lord Barrington stood up to move the first resolution; quitted their places; made their bows to the chair, and went away.]

*November 16.*

Estimates reported. Agreed to. No debate. Adjourned to November 18.

*November 18.*

No debate.

*November 19.*

The same.

*November 20.*

Malt duty, &c. No debate.

*November 21.*

The same.

*November 22.*

Sir George Savile said, he had a petition from Thomas Rumbold, Esq. respecting the Shaftesbury election. The petitioner, he said, prayed that the votes of the House of last session, by which the House agreed with the committee on the Shaftesbury election, might be reconsidered; and such relief given to the petitioner as the House in its wisdom should think fit. After expatiating on what he thought the injustice that had been done to the petitioner on the necessity of supporting the dignity of Parliament, he moved for leave to bring up the petition.

Mr. Grenville opposed the bringing it up at that time. He had no interest in the question, nor any connexion with any of the parties; but he knew, that several gentlemen who had served on the Shaftesbury committee were absent, it being

ing generally understood some days since; that no real public business was to come on before the holidays; and many of the country gentlemen who were interested in the question were also absent. As a proof that no public business was expected, he mentioned the difficulty the Speaker had been under to collect a House the last four days; he therefore moved, that the petition be not brought up till the 29th of January.

Mr. *Powis* seconded Mr. Grenville's motion.

The right hon. *Hans Stanley* seconded Sir George *Savile's* motion. He said, he had as great a respect for the members absent as any man, but God forbid a regard for any persons should prevent a British House of Commons from doing immediate justice. The House was now by three times fuller, than when the votes complained of by the petitioner were passed. The parties concerned had known that a motion for rescinding those hasty resolutions would be made before the holidays. He knew it was the sense of the House to have rescinded them last year, if it had not been contrary to the standing order of the House, not to permit the same question twice in one session.

Mr. *Burke* for rescinding the resolutions; and wished it might be an example for rescinding all hasty resolutions.

The Attorney General [Mr. *Thurlow*] said, the evidence was incompetent, upon which the petitioner and Mr. *Sykes* were reputed guilty.

Then the petition was brought up, and read; setting forth, That, in the last session of Parliament, the House came to divers resolutions, upon taking into consideration the minutes of the examination taken before the select committee, who were appointed to try and determine the merits of the petition of *Hans Winstrop Mortimer, Esq.* complaining of an undue election and return for the borough of *Shaftesbury*, and in particular a resolution, "That it appeared to this House, from the said minutes, that the petitioner was a principal promoter and suborner of wilful and corrupt perjury at the said election;" and that the petitioner had not any intimation given him, that any proceedings were intended to be had with respect to him; and, as the petitioner is conscious of his innocence, he trusts he should have been able, had he been apprized of such proceedings, to have satisfied the House that there was no foundation for so heinous a charge; and that the petitioner's character and reputation are highly affected by

by the said resolution; and that the petitioner did make an application, in the last session of Parliament, to the House, for relief in the premises, which was rejected; and the resolutions concerning which the petitioner offered his said petition having been passed in the said session, the petitioner apprehends, that that circumstance might have been a motive to the House not to grant the prayer of his said petition: the petitioner therefore hopes, that this cause no longer existing, his request may now be more favourably received.

The House was moved, That the entry in the journal of the House of the fourteenth day of February, in the last session of Parliament, of the proceedings of the House, on taking into consideration the minutes of the examination taken before the select committee, who were appointed to try and determine the merits of the petition of Hans Wintrop Mortimer, Esq. complaining of an undue election and return for the borough of Shafton, otherwise Shaftesbury, in the county of Dorset, so far as the same relates to Thomas Rumbold, Esq. together with the order of the same day to the Attorney General to prosecute the said Thomas Rumbold, Esq. might be read.

And the same being read accordingly;

Ordered, That the said order to the Attorney General, for prosecuting the said Thomas Rumbold, Esq. be discharged;

A petition of Francis Sykes, Esq. was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, That, in the last session of Parliament, the House came to divers resolutions, upon taking into consideration the minutes of the examination taken before the select committee, who were appointed to try and determine the merits of the petition of Hans Wintrop Mortimer, Esq. complaining of an undue election and return for the borough of Shaftesbury, and in particular a resolution, "That it appeared to this House, from the said minutes, "that the petitioner was a principal promoter and suborner "of wilful and corrupt perjury at the said election;" and that the petitioner had not any intimation given him, that any proceedings were intended to be had with respect to him; and as the petitioner is conscious of his innocence, he trusts he should have been able, had he been apprized of such proceedings, to have satisfied the House, that there was no foundation for so heinous a charge; and that the petitioner's character and reputation are highly affected by the said resolution; and that the petitioner did make an application, in the last

last session, of Parliament, to the House, for relief in the premises, which was rejected; and the resolution concerning which the petitioner offered his said petition having been passed in the said session, the petitioner apprehends, that that circumstance might have been a motive to the House not to grant the prayer of his said petition; the petitioner therefore hopes, that this cause no longer existing, his request may now be more favourably received.

The House was moved, That the entry in the journal of the House, of the 14th day of February, in the last session of Parliament, of the proceedings of the House, on taking into consideration the minutes of the examination taken before the said select committee, so far as the same relates to Francis Sykes, Esq. together with the order of the same day to the Attorney General, to prosecute the said Francis Sykes, Esq. might be read.

And the same being read accordingly;

Ordered, That the said order to the Attorney General, for prosecuting the said Francis Sykes, Esq. be discharged.

The like orders, which had been made for prosecuting him of the electors, were also discharged.

Adjourned to November 25.

*November 25.*

Resolved, - That there be granted for the ordinary of the navy, including the half-pay to sea and marine officers for 1777	£. s. d.
	400,000 2 10

Resolved, That there be granted for building and repairs of ships for 1777	465,500 0 0
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Resolved, That there be granted for the payment of exchequer bills	1,500,000 0 0
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No debate.

*November 26.*

No debate.

*November 27.*

The same. Adjourned to December 2.

*December 2.*

Private business. Adjourned to December 12.

*December 12.*

Private business.

*December 13.*

Day appointed for a general fast. Heard divine service, and a sermon. Adjourned to January 21, 1777.

The

The following authentic papers are copies of the last ESTIMATES presented to the House of Commons, of the yearly expenses in North America, before the present war.

*Estimate of Expenses attending the Commander in Chief.*

Secretary's Office.		£.	s.	d.
Two clerks		100	0	0
An allowance for pay to extra clerks employed occasionally to assist in the course of the year to write for the secretary's office		40	0	0
Office rent		20	0	0
Person to attend the office		12	0	0
Firing and candles		40	0	0
Expreses at an average		60	0	0
Stationary ditto		60	0	0
Incidental expenses ditto		20	0	0
Inland postage of letters to and from the commander in chief, adjutant general, aid de camps, &c. at the post-office in New York, upon public business, as per the post-master's account for last year		86	6	11
Ditto at Boston, on an average		40	0	0
Ditto Philadelphia ditto		20	0	0

(Signed) G. MATURIN. 498 6 11

*War Office.*

(Signed) BARRINGTON.

ESTIMATE of the Expense of providing the King's Barracks in North America with the following Necessaries for the ensuing Year, viz.

Fire and candles.—Allowance to the soldiers for bowls, platters, and spoons.—Straw or stuffing for the soldiers' bedding.—Brooms for sweeping the rooms.—Sweeping chimnies.—Allowance to officers quartered in barracks for finding their own bedding.—And lodging for such officers as there is no room for in the barracks.

Provinces.	Places' Names.	Sterling.			Sterling.		
		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Canada	Quebec	1797	17	5			
	Three Rivers	280	16	10½			
		2078			14	3½	



A. 1776.

## DEBATES.

31

Provinces.	Places' Names.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
	Brought over	2078	14	3			
	Montreal and Cham-						
	bly	1228	8	10			
	Ofwegatchie	73	5	1			
					1301	13	11
Communication to	Niagara	168	14	5½			
Michillimackinac	Detroit	222	2	10½			
	Michillimackinac	156	19	1½			
	Fort Ontario	114	10	7			
					662	13	0½
New York	Fort Stanwix	36	19	5			
	Fort George	36	1	6½			
	Crown Point and						
	Ticonderoga	120	13	3			
					193	14	2½
Nova Scotia	Halifax	1328	4	10½			
	Annapolis Roya	169	6	11½			
	Fort Frederick	121	11	3½			
	Fort Cumberland	212	19	5½			
	Louisbourg	371	6	8			
	St. John's Island	143	7	5			
					1346	16	8
Florida	Mobile	596	15	5½			
	Pensacola	673	0	1½			
	Apalachie	61	3	5			
	St. Augustine	369	18	2			
					1700	17	2
Illinois	Fort Chartres				398	10	5
Pennsylvania	Fort Pitt				154	2	7
South Carolina	Fort Charlotte				10	10	11
Cherokee Country	Fort-Prince George				16	9	3
Georgia	Fort Augusta	21	13	2			
	Fort Frederick	5	7	0			
					27	0	2

Expense of an allowance to officers in lieu  
of lodgings in garrisons where there are  
no officers' barracks.

Quebec	-	566	4	5			
Three Rivers	-	79	6	8			
Montreal	-	395	2	2			
Halifax	-	424	2	0			
St. Augustine	-	390	0	2			
					1854	17	3

Carried over 10745 19 10½

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Brought over				10745	11	10½
Hire of an office	80	0	0			
Fire and candle for the office	12	0	0			
Hire of a store-room	16	0	0			
Wages to clerks, at 4s. sterling per day	73	0	0			
Stationary for the barrack-master general, and for 27 barrack-masters, or persons acting as such, at the different posts; the first at 1s. the other at 40s.	66	0	0			
				197	0	0
Total of the annual expense of the barracks in North America, exclusive of furniture				10942	19	10½

*N.B.* At other places the barracks are supposed to afford store-rooms; but at New York, the central place from whence all the others must be supplied, the king has no houses.

Estimate of the expense of furnishing the barrack-rooms actually occupied in North America; and of the yearly expense of keeping the furniture, bedding, &c. in order, for 20 years, by contract.

	Sterling.	£.	s.	d.
Furniture for non-commissioned officers' and men's rooms.				
To 6 bedsteads, at 9s. each	-	2	14	0
To 6 bed and bolster cases, at 9s. each	-	2	14	0
To 12 blankets, at 5s. 6d. each	-	3	6	0
To 6 coverlets, at 5s. 6d. each	-	1	13	0
To 2 iron pots, at 5s. each	-	0	10	0
To 2 trawls	-	0	9	6
To 1 pair tongs and shovel	-	0	4	0
To 1 pair dogs	-	0	8	0
To 2 cross bars	-	0	5	0
To 1 axe	-	0	4	6
To 1 candlestick	-	0	1	0
To a table and 2 benches	-	0	14	0
To a bucket	-	0	3	0
To a box for ashes	-	0	2	0
		13	8	0

Furniture

## Furniture for an officer's room.

	£.	s.	d.
To a pair of dogs	0	9	0
To a pair of tongs and shovel	0	9	0
To a table	0	8	6
To 2 chairs	0	8	0
To a candlestick	0	3	6
To a box for ashes	0	2	0

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2 0 0

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## Furniture for an officer's guard-room.

To 1 bedstead	0	9	0
To 1 table	0	8	6
To 5 chairs	1	0	0
To fire-irons	0	18	0
To 1 candlestick	0	3	6
To 1 box for ashes	0	2	0

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3 1 0

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## Furniture for men's guard-room.

Racks for arms	0	6	0
Fire-irons	0	12	0
Candlestick	0	1	0
Box for ashes	0	2	0
An axe	0	4	6

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1 5 6

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It appears by the estimate, that there are actually possessed in North America,

	£.	s.	d.
192 officers' rooms, at 2l. each	384	0	0
493 private men's rooms, at 13l. 8s. each	6606	4	0
17 officers' guard-rooms, at 3l. 1s. each	51	17	0
47 soldiers' guard-rooms, at 1l. 5s. each	59	18	6

\* Total expense of furnishing the rooms 7101 19 6

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\* Omitted an extraordinary blanket being allowed to each two soldiers' bed at Louisbourg and Quebec.

To 600 blankets at 5s. 6d. each £. 165

Which makes the total expense of furnishing the rooms, instead of 7101l. 19s. 6d. to be 7266l. 19s. 6d.

I

Yearly

Yearly expence of keeping the bedding and furniture in repairs for 20 years, at 10s. a bed, being 31s. for each of the non-commissioned officers and private men's rooms; and at 10s. for all the officers' rooms and guards.

493 soldiers' rooms, at 31s. each . . . £.1479

256 officers' rooms and guards, at 10s. each . . . 128

1607

That the estimates and the principles on which they are formed may be well understood, it is proper they be accompanied with the following explanatory remarks.

*Remarks on the Estimate for Fuel and Candles, &c. &c.*

At the posts named in the margin \*, it is presumed, that wood is to be procured by the labour of the troops, for these reasons: the inhabitants being few, labour is dear.

A contract would be very expensive. The intervals of duty give time to the soldiers to work; this will get them health and strength, and keep them free from the scurvy: but as the soldiers' shirts, shoes, and stockings will be worn in this service, and as they are very dear at these remote posts, to indemnify the men for the wear, and to leave them some small gratification for their labour, an allowance is made for each chord of wood the troops furnish.

To proportion the price to the labour and different circumstances of the posts, I visited as many of them as I could last summer, and, with the general's approbation, fixed at each the price of wood as in the estimate.

I went next to Canada, and found that a different method had, and indeed should be, taken for the supply of wood in that country.

Regiments being united here, find an opportunity to continue or renew their discipline. As here the season proper for this is short, it would be improper to take the troops from their military exercise and employ them in cutting wood, especially as, from the circumstances of the inhabitants and the situation of the country, it can be had almost as cheap from the country people as by the labour of the troops.

Hitherto the different parishes have been ordered to supply certain quantities of wood, which has been paid for at

\* Oswegatchie, Niagara, Detroit, Michillimackinac, Fort Ontario, Fort Stanwix, Fort George, Crown Point, Ticonderoga, St. John's Island, Apalachie, Fort Chartres, Fort Pitt, Fort Charlotte, Fort Prince George, Fort Augusta, Fort Frederick.

such

such rates as the commanding officers thought reasonable; but as, for several reasons, this method is to be no longer taken, I published advertisements, desiring such as had a mind to contract, to send me proposals. At Quebec, I found that I could buy wood from the country people, and get it brought to the barrack-yard, at a lower rate than any of the proposers offered it at. I therefore ordered the barrack-master for this year, to buy wood for the garrison at the best markets, and in the cheapest seasons. This experiment will enable me to contract, and people to undertake it next year with knowledge of the subject. At Montreal I made a contract, by which wood will be brought to the barrack-yard, and piled there at a cheaper rate than authority ever procured it. And though the whole wood wanted for the garrison of Quebec was not bought, and so the cost of a chord cannot be determined with absolute precision; I am pretty certain that it will not exceed nor fall much short under the Montreal price. I have therefore stated them at the same rate in the estimate.

At Nova Scotia the troops have never been in the practice of furnishing their own wood; the land near the water is all private property; the owners demand unreasonable sums for leave to cut timber; it is difficult to have the wood brought to the water; and when there formed into floats to be conducted to Halifax, it is subject to be scattered by the violence of the waves. I find that liberal contracts have been given there for wood, and the expenditure has not undergone a severe examination. After several abuses had been corrected, the estimate sent last year to the general from Nova Scotia, for firewood to a regiment of foot and a company of artillery, and oil to the guards, amounted nearly to four hundred pounds; whereas the expense for that garrison, agreeable to this estimate, which gives candles to the troops, would be under a thousand pounds. Several people have offered to enter into contracts at much cheaper rates than had been formerly given; but I found that the barrack-master would procure the wood at market, or have it brought from Lunenburg, at less expense than any proposer offered it at. I desired him to purchase wood where it could be had cheapest this year; next, I shall be able to contract with knowledge of the subject.

The lords commissioners of the treasury have honoured me with their commands, to give a preference in a contract to Major Gorham, who has laid proposals before their lord-

ships to supply wood at a cheaper rate than it has hitherto been contracted for by governors and commanding officers. The major shall see what the expense of a chord amounts to; and as he has lands in the neighbourhood of some of the posts, I hope he will find an interest in supplying wood at the rate the barrack-master gets it, though that be considerably lower than his proposals to the treasury: the rate in the estimate including not only the expense of the wood on the quays, but of carrying to and piling it in the barrack-yard.

In Florida I find the troops were at first supplied with wood at four dollars a chord, and afterwards at three dollars. I visited that country, and from the situation of the woods and rivers, I think wood might be got by the labour of the troops, with advantage to their healths, at proper seasons of the year, at a dollar a chord; but the sickness that has prevailed since the arrival of the present garrisons, or some other reasons, have hitherto prevented the orders I sent by the general's commands to this purpose, from being executed; and lately Colonel Taylor, who acts there as a brigadier, acquainted me, that he will get the price of wood reduced to a dollar, by employing or purchasing negroes; the good effect of this will not be felt for a year, and therefore have, in the estimate, stated the price of wood as charged in the last bills drawn on me by Colonel Taylor.

Candles have hitherto been purchased by the barrack-master and commanding officers from traders at the posts at very exorbitant rates; care is now taken to have them bought at the best markets, and to be sent to the different posts at the cheapest rates, which, including the risk, is as stated in the estimate.

From Newfoundland I have had no returns since my appointment, and the result of my inquiries is not very exact. I find that the governor gives an allowance for each fire-place, and draws upon the treasury for the money; that the allowance is not extravagant, and as the intercourse between this place and Newfoundland is rare, the general thinks it best to leave that place in the situation it has been for many years, and by his commands I have not included it in the estimate.

The lords commissioners of his Majesty's treasury having, last year, disapproved of an estimate laid before their lordships for firing for the general and staff officers, the present estimate gives no allowance to any of those.

It gives an allowance to engineers who are stationed at posts only. And it supposes that all the rest, as well as the troops

troops ordered to be quartered in the inhabited countries, viz. thirty-three companies, are to be supplied with quarters, fire, &c. agreeable to act of Parliament, at the expense of the different provinces, and without any cost to the crown.

*Remarks on the estimate for an allowance to officers in lieu of lodgings.*

By the last reports from Halifax, it appears that the habitable officers' rooms could not contain all the officers stationed there, without considerable repairs, which are ordered to be made: since that time notice is come, that another regiment from England is to be quartered in that place. There are no rooms for the officers of the corps, or, if the barracks be divided, as many officers as this regiment has, will want lodgings.

At St. Augustine there are no barrack-rooms for officers, nor at Montreal, Three Rivers, and Quebec.

General Gage has been pleased to allow the officers at the two first posts as stated in the estimate, being agreeable to the allowances given to officers so circumstanced in Ireland, and to continue the allowance that has hitherto been made to the officers in Canada. It is hoped that this will be an expense only for one year. That some of the public buildings at St. Augustine, Montreal, and Quebec, will be turned into officers' barracks; and if it be thought necessary to continue so great a number of troops at Halifax, those barracks will be repaired for officers; but as this cannot be done till next summer, this estimate will necessarily form part of the expense of this year.

*Remarks on the estimate for furnishing the barracks, &c.*

During the war, and for some time after the peace, there were no barrack-masters in America; bedding and other furniture were provided at the requisition of commanding officers; they took care that the men under their command were well provided during their stay at the posts. But the succeeding officers found every thing out of repair, and made new demands; and even after the appointment of some barrack-masters, this abuse was not much mended. The commanding officer's receipt that he had received certain things wore, and his certificate that others were unfit for service, indemnified the barrack-master, there being no officer whose particular business it was to make him accountable;

able; the consequence of this has been, that a great and frequent expence has been incurred, and by all the returns sent to me since the time of my appointment, it appears that there is very little furniture in the barracks in America fit for service.

I flatter myself, that my inspection will, for the future, remedy this evil: but to do this effectually, I apprehend, it is necessary to complete the barrack furniture, and to make a contract to have this kept up for twenty years; this is the practice in Ireland, and in Scotland; in the end will be cheaper, and is the only method to render the expence certain. The prices in the estimate are stated at the lowest rate; the iron and wood-work can be had in America, and the bedding from England.

*Detail, shewing how the expence mentioned in the foregoing estimate, arises at the several posts.*

A regiment requires 59 rooms.

For 10 captains	-	-	10 rooms.
For 17 subalterns	-	-	9
For 4 staff-officers	-	-	2
For hospitals	-	-	2
For 9 companies	-	-	36
			<hr/>
			59

The rooms of absentees, it is supposed, will afford an extraordinary room for each field officer present, one for a barrack guard, and one for a chaplain.

#### QUEBEC.

At Quebec, two regiments - 118 rooms.

#### Royal Artillery.

2 Captains	-	-	2
1 Lieutenant	-	-	1
1 Surgeon	-	-	1
50 Matrosses, &c.	-	-	4

#### Staff of the Garrison.

Chaplain	-	-	1
Barrack-master	-	-	1
Commissary of provisions	-	-	1
Commissary of musters	-	-	1
Surgeon	-	-	1

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130

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Wood



*Chords of Wood.*      *Pounds of Candles.*

Wood for 130 rooms, at 25½ chords per room a year		3282½
Candles for 130 rooms, at 26 pounds ditto, ditto		3380
Main officers' room	28	91
Ditto men's ditto	42	91
Port St. John's ditto	28	91
Guards. Port St. Louis ditto	28	91
Cape Diamond	28	91
Jesuit's College	28	91
Palace Gate	28	91

Total 3492½      4017

N. B. Wood, on the representation of the officers commanding in Canada, is allowed to the guards to the 14th of May, the weather continuing severe till that time.

A Canadian chord of wood piled in the barrack-yard costs eight livres; an English chord is 128 feet, a Canadian chord is only 96; a chord of the first is one third larger, and will cost 10½ livres.

3492½ chords of wood, at 10½ livres each chord, amounts to 37253½ livres, which, at 6 livres to the dollar, is 6208<sup>8</sup> dollars, at 4s. 8d. sterling each

4017 pounds of candles, at 1s. sterling per pound

Assistant to the barrack-master, at 1s. 6d. sterling per day

A labourer to deliver out the wood, at 1s. ditto

Bowls, platters, and spoons, not being furnished to the men, they are allowed in lieu thereof 9½d. sterling per man a year; this to the non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the garrison amounts to

To straw for 480 beds, four times a year, each bed having three bundles, at 1½d. per bundle, is 1s. 6d. sterling per bed a year

To brooms for 87 rooms, six times a year, at 6d. sterling per broom, is 3s. per room a year

Carried over 1817 7 5

G 3

Brought over £. 1817 7 5

To sweeping 87 chimnies ten times a year,  
at 4d. sterling each time, is 3s. 4d. per chim-  
ney a year

14 10 0

Sterling £. 1831 17 5

N. B. All officers are allowed wood and candles, but there  
being no rooms in the barracks for officers, no charge is made  
in these last articles for officers' rooms.

## THREE RIVERS.

3 Companies, and 5 matrosses, &c.  
Barrack-master

No. of  
Rooms.

20

1

21

Chords Pounds of  
of Wood. Candles.

Wood for 21 rooms, at 25½ chords per room  
a year

530½

Candles for 21 rooms, at 26 pounds ditto ditto

546

One guard-room

28

91

Total 558½ 637

558½ chords of wood, at 10½ livres per chord  
is 5954½ livres, at six livres to the dollar, is

Sterling.

992½ dollars, at 4s. 8d. sterling each

£. s. d.  
231 11 5

637 pounds of candles, at 1s. sterling per lb.

31 17 0

Allowance to the soldiers for utensils, at  
9½d. sterling each

6 7 5½

To straw for 84 beds, at 1s. 6d. sterling per  
bed a year

6 6 0

To brooms for 15 rooms, at 3s. sterling per  
room a year

2 5 0

To sweeping 15 chimnies, at 4s. 3d. sterling  
per chimney a year

2 10 0

Sterling £. 280 16 10½

## MONTREAL and CHAMBLY.

Royal Artillery.

No. of  
Rooms.

A regiment and two companies

72

One captain

1

Carried over 73



## OSWEGATCHIE.

	No. of Rooms.
A company	6
8 Matrosses, &c. } Royal Artillery	1
Conductor	0½
Barrack-master	1
Commissary of provisions	1
	<hr/> 9½

Chords    Pounds of  
Wood.    Candles.

Wood for 9½ rooms, at 25½ chords per room a year

239½

Candles for 9½ rooms, at 26 pounds ditto ditto

One guard-room

28

247

91

Total 267½ 338

	Sterling.	£.	s.	d.
267½ chords of wood, at 3s. sterling per chord	40	3	7	
338 pounds of candles, at 1s. 2d. sterling per lb.	19	14	4	
Allowance to the soldiers for utensils, at 9½d. sterling each	2	7	6	
To straw for 30 beds, at 1s. 6d. per bed a year	2	5	0	
To brooms for 11 rooms, at 3s. per room a year	1	13	0	
To sweeping 11 chimnies, at 3s. 4d. per chimney a year	1	16	8	
To fix officers, at 17s. 6d. each per year, in lieu of bedding	5	5	0	

Sterling £. 73 5 1

## NIAGARA.

	No. of Rooms.
3 Companies	20
1 Captain	1
19 Matrosses } Royal Artillery	2
2 Artificers }	
Conductor	0½
Barrack-master	1
Commissary of provisions	1
Indian commissary and interpreters	1½

27

*Chords - Pounds of  
of Wood. Candles.*

Wood for 27 rooms, at $17\frac{1}{2}$ chords per room a year	472 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Candles for 27 rooms, at 26lb. ditto ditto		702
Officers' guard-room	17 $\frac{1}{2}$	91
Men's ditto	17 $\frac{1}{2}$	91
Total	507 $\frac{1}{2}$	884

<i>Sterling.</i>	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
507 $\frac{1}{2}$ chords of wood, at 3s. sterling per chord	76	1	6
884 pounds of candles, at 1s. 1d. per pound	47	17	8
Allowance to the soldiers for utensils, at 9d. each	7	9	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
To straw for 96 beds, at 1s. 6d. per bed a year	7	4	0
To brooms for 29 rooms, at 3s. per room a year	4	7	0
To sweeping 29 chimnies, at 3s. 4d. per chimney a year		4	16 8
To a labourer to deliver out the wood, at 6d. ster- ling a day		9	2 6
To 14 officers, at 17s. 6d. each, in lieu of bed- ding		12	5 0

Sterling £. 168 14 5 $\frac{1}{2}$

*No. of  
Rooms.*

## DETROIT.

3 Companies	20
1 Lieutenant	1
13 Matrosses, &c. } Royal artillery	1
Conductor	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Engineer	1
Barrack-master	1
Commissary of provisions	1
Indian commissary and interpreters	1 $\frac{1}{2}$

27

*Chords Pounds of  
of Wood. Candles.*

Wood for 27 rooms, at $17\frac{1}{2}$ chords per room a year	472 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Candles for 27 rooms, at 26lb. ditto ditto		702
Officers' guard-room	17 $\frac{1}{2}$	91
Men's ditto	17 $\frac{1}{2}$	91
Total	507 $\frac{1}{2}$	884

	Sterling.		
	£.	s.	d.
507 $\frac{1}{2}$ chords of wood, at 4s. 8d. sterling per chord	128	6	9
884 pounds of candles, at 1s. 4d. sterling per pound	58	18	8
Allowances to the soldiers for utensils, at 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. each	6	13	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
A labourer to deliver out the wood, at 6d. sterling a day	9	2	6
To straw for 90 beds, at 1s. 6d. per bed a year	6	15	0
To brooms for 29 rooms, at 3s. per room a year	4	7	4
To sweeping 29 chimnies, at 3s. 4d. per chimney a year	4	16	8
To 15 officers, at 17s. 6d. each per year, in lieu of bedding	13	2	6

Sterling    £. 222    2 10 $\frac{1}{2}$   
                              No. of  
                              Rooms.

MICHILLIMACKINAC.	
A commandant by appointment	2
2 Companies and 5 matrosses, &c.	13
Commissary of provisions	1
Indian commissary and interpreters	1 $\frac{1}{2}$

17 $\frac{1}{2}$   
                              Chords    Pounds of  
                              of Wood.    Candles.

Wood for 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ rooms, at 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ chords per room a year	306 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Candles for 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ rooms, at 26lb. ditto ditto		455
One guard-room	17 $\frac{1}{2}$	91
Total	323 $\frac{1}{2}$	546

	Sterling.		
	£.	s.	d.
323 $\frac{1}{2}$ chords of wood, at 4s. 8d. sterling per chord	75	10	0
546 pounds of candles, at 1s. 6d. sterling per lb.	40	19	0
Allowance to the soldiers for utensils, at 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. each	4	6	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
To straw for 54 beds, at 1s. 6d. per bed a year	4	1	0
To brooms for 19 rooms, at 3s. per room a year	2	17	0
To sweeping 19 chimnies, at 3s. 4d. per chimney a year	3	3	4

Carried over 130 16 7 $\frac{1}{2}$

A. 1776.

## D E B A T E S.

95

	Brought over £.	130	16	7½
To a person to act for the barrack-master who is at Detroit, at 1s. sterling per day		18	5	0
To 9 officers, at 17s. 6d. each per year in lieu of bedding		7	17	6
	Sterling £.	156	19	1½

## FORT ONTARIO.

	No. of Rooms.
1½ Company	10
1 Lieutenant	1
11 Matrosses, &c. 1 artificer	} Roy. artillery 1
Conductor	
Commissary of provisions	1½
Indian commissary and interpreters	1
Barrack-master	1½
	1
	16

Chords. Pounds of  
of Wood. Candles.

Wood for 16 rooms, at 17½ chords per room a year	280	
Candles for 16 rooms, at 26lb. ditto ditto		416
Officers' guard-room	17½	91
Men's ditto	17½	91
Total	314½	598

	Sterling. £.	s.	d.
314½ chords of wood, at 3s. 6d. sterling per chord	55	1	4
598 pounds of candles, at 1s. sterling per lb.	29	18	0
Allowance to the foldiers for utensils, at 9½d. sterling each	3	11	3
To a labourer to deliver out the wood, at 6d. a day	9	2	6
To straw for 48 beds, at 1s. 6d. per bed a year	3	12	0
To brooms for 18 rooms, at 3s. per room a year	2	14	0
To sweeping 18 chimnies, at 3s. 4d. per chimney a year	3	0	0
To 9 officers, at 17s. 6d. each per year, in lieu of bedding	7	17	6
	Sterling £.	114	16 7

FORT

**FORT STANWIX.**  
Half a company and 4 matrosses

No. of  
Rooms.  
4

*Chords of Wood. Pounds of Candles.*

Wood for 4 rooms, at $17\frac{1}{2}$ chords per room a year	70	
Candles for 4 rooms, at 26lb. ditto ditto		104
One guard-room	$17\frac{1}{2}$	91
Total	$87\frac{1}{2}$	195

	Sterling.	£.	s.	d.
$87\frac{1}{2}$ chords of wood, at 3s. sterling per chord	13	2	0	
195 pounds of candles, at 1s. sterling per pound	9	15	0	
Allowance to the soldiers for utensils, at $9\frac{1}{2}$ d. sterling each	1	3	9	
To a person to act for the barrack-master, who is at Fort Ontario, at 6d. a day	9	2	6	
To straw for 18 beds, at 1s. 6d. per bed a year	1	7	0	
To brooms for 5 rooms, at 3s. per room per year	0	15	0	
To sweeping 5 chimnies, at 3s. 4d. per year	0	16	8	
To 1 officer, in lieu of bedding per year	0	17	6	

Sterling £. 36 19 5

**FORT GEORGE.**  
Half a company and 3 matrosses, &c.  
Conductor  
Barrack-master

No. of  
Rooms.  
4  
 $0\frac{1}{2}$   
1

$5\frac{1}{2}$

*Chords of Wood. Pounds of Candles.*

Wood for $5\frac{1}{2}$ rooms, at $17\frac{1}{2}$ chords per room a year	$96\frac{1}{4}$	
Candles for $5\frac{1}{2}$ rooms, at 36lb. ditto ditto		143
One guard-room	$17\frac{1}{2}$	91
Total	$113\frac{7}{12}$	234

Sterling.



	Sterling.	£.	s.	d.
137 $\frac{1}{2}$ chords of wood, at 3s. sterling per chord	17	0	9	
234 pounds of candles, at 1s. sterling per lb.	11	14	0	
Allowance to the soldiers for utensils, at 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. each	1	2	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	
To straw for 18 beds, at 1s. 6d. per bed a year	1	7	0	
To brooms for 7 rooms, at 3s. per room a year	1	1	0	
To sweeping 7 chimnies, at 3s. 4d. each per year	1	3	4	
To 3 officers, at 17s. 6d. each per year in lieu of bedding		2	12	6

Sterling £. 36 1 6 $\frac{1}{2}$

	No. of Rooms.
CROWN POINT and TICONDEROGA.	
2 Companies	13
1 Lieutenant	1
16 Matrosses, &c. 2 artificers	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Conductor	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Commissary	1
Barrack-master	1
Commissary of provisions	1

19

Chords of Wood. Pounds of Candles.

Wood for 19 rooms, at 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ chords per room a year	332 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Candles for 19 rooms, at 26lb. ditto ditto		494
Officers' guard-room	17 $\frac{1}{2}$	91
Men's ditto	17 $\frac{1}{2}$	91

Total 367 $\frac{1}{2}$  676

	Sterling.	£.	s.	d.
367 $\frac{1}{2}$ chords of wood, at 3s. sterling per chord	55	1	6	
676 pounds of candles, at 1s. sterling per lb.	33	16	0	
Allowance to the soldiers for utensils, at 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. sterling each		4	16	9
To a labourer to deliver out the wood, at 6d. a day		9	2	6
To straw for 63 beds, at 1s. 6d. per bed a year		4	14	0
To brooms for 11 rooms at 3s. per room a year		1	13	0
To sweeping 11 chimnies, at 3s. 4d. per chimney a year		1	16	8

Carried over 111 0 9

	£.	s.	d.
Brought over	111	0	9
To 11 officers, at 17s. 6d. each per year in lieu of bedding		9	12 6
	<hr/>		
Sterling	£. 130	13	3

## HALIFAX.

		No. of Rooms.
A regiment and five companies		92
Two Lieutenants	} Royal artillery.	1½
Surgeon		0½
32 Matrosses, &c.		1½
Conductor		0½
Ordnance store-keeper		1
Engineer		1
Commissary of musters		1
Barrack-master		1
George's Island		1
		<hr/>
		182½

## Chords of Pounds of Wood. Candles.

Wood for 102½ rooms, at 17½ chords per room a year	1793½	
Candles for 102½ rooms, at 26lb. ditto ditto		2065
Officers' main guard-room	17½	91
Men's ditto	26	91
Five town guards	86½	445
	<hr/>	
Total	1923½	3302

	Sterling.		
	£.	s.	d.
1923½ chords of wood, at 11s. sterling per chord	1058	1	3
3302 pounds of candles, at 9d. sterling per lb.	123	16	6
Allowance to the soldiers for utensils, at 9d. sterling each	30	2	5½
Assistant to the barrack-master, at 1s. 6d. sterling per day	27	7	6
A labourer to deliver out the wood, at 1s. sterling per day	18	5	0
	<hr/>		
Carried over	1257	12	8½

A. 1776.

## D E B A T E S.

99

	£.	s.	d.
Brought over	1257	12	8½
To straw for 381 beds, at 1s. 6d. sterling per bed a year	28	11	6
To brooms for 83 rooms, at 3s. per room a year	12	9	0
To sweeping 83 chimnies, at 3s. 4d. per chimney a year	13	16	8
To 18 officers, at 17s. 6d. each per year, in lieu of bedding	15	15	0

Sterling £. 1328 4 10½

## ANNAPOLIS ROYAL.

No. of  
Rooms.

1 Company and 5 matrosses, &c.	7
1 Lieutenant, Royal Artillery	1
Chaplain	1
Surgeon	1
Commissary of provisions	1
Commissary of musters	1
Barrack-master general	1

—  
13Chords Pounds of  
of Wood. Candles.

Wood for 13 rooms, at 17½ chords per room a year	227½	
Candles for 13 rooms, at 26lb. ditto ditto		338
One guard-room	17½	91
Total	244½	429

	£.	s.	d.
244½ chords of wood, at 11s. sterling per chord	134	13	2
429 pounds of candles, at 10d. sterling per pound	17	17	6
Allowances to the soldiers for utensils, at 9½d. each	2	5	1½
To straw for 30 beds, at 1s. 6d. per bed a year	2	5	0
To brooms for 14 rooms, at 3s. per room a year	2	2	0

Carried over 159 2 9½

# 180 PARLIAMENTARY A. 1776.

	Brought over	£.	159	2	9½
To sweeping 14 chimnies, at 3s. 4d. per chimney a year			2	6	8
To 9 officers, at 17s. 6d. each per year in lieu of bedding			7	17	6
					<hr/>
	Sterling	£.	169	6	11½

## FORT FREDERICK.

	No. of Rooms,
1 Company and 3 matrosses, &c.	6½
Store-keeper acting as barrack-master	1
	<hr/>
	7½

*Chords Pounds of  
of Wood. Candles.*

Wood for 7½ rooms at 17½ chords per room a year	131½	
Candles for 7½ rooms, at 26 pounds ditto ditto	195	
One guard-room	17½	9½
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	148½	286

	£.	s.	d.
148½ chords of wood, at 11s. sterling per chord	81	14	5
286 pounds of candles, at 10d. sterling per lb.	11	18	4
Allowance to the soldiers for utensils, at 9½d. sterling each	2	3	6½
To straw for 27 beds, at 1s. 6d. sterling per bed a year	2	0	6
To brooms for nine rooms at 3s. sterling per room a year	1	7	0
To sweeping nine chimnies, at 3s. 4d. sterling per chimney a year	1	10	0
To three officers, at 17s. 6d. each, in lieu of bedding	2	12	6
To a person acting as barrack-master at 1s. sterling per day	18	5	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Sterling	£.	121	11 3½

FORT CUMBERLAND.		No. of Rooms.
2 Companies		13
Store-keeper acting as barrack-master		1
		<hr/> 14
		<i>Chords Pounds of of Wood. Candles.</i>
Wood for 14 rooms, at $17\frac{1}{2}$ chords per room		
a year	245	
Candles for 4 rooms, at 26lb. ditto ditto		364
One guard-room	$17\frac{1}{2}$	91
	<hr/> Total	<hr/> 262 $\frac{1}{2}$ 455

	£.	s.	d.
262 $\frac{1}{2}$ chords of wood, at 12s. sterling per chord	157	8	0
455 pounds of candles, at 10d. per pound	18	19	2
Allowance to the soldiers for utensils, at 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.			
sterling each	4	6	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
To straw for 54 beds, at 1s. 6d. per bed a year	4	1	0
To brooms for 15 rooms, at 3s. per room per year	2	5	0
To sweeping 15 chimnies, at 3s. 4d. per year	2	10	0
To 6 officers, at 17s. 6d. each, in lieu of bedding	5	5	0
To a person acting as barrack-master	18	5	0

Sterling £. 212 19 5 $\frac{1}{2}$

LOUISBOURG.		No. of Rooms.
Four companies and 4 matrosses, &c.		27
<i>Staff of the Garrison.</i>		
Barrack-master		1
Chaplain		1
Surgeon		1
Town adjutant		1
Commissary of stores		1
		<hr/> 32

*Chaldrons. Bushels. Chords Pounds of  
of Wood. Candles.*

Coals for 32 rooms, at 7s.  
per chaldron.

13 bushels per room, a year 235 20

Wood for 32 rooms, at  $3\frac{1}{8}$   
chords per room a year

101 $\frac{1}{2}$

Candles for 32 rooms, at  
26lb. ditto ditto

832

Two officers' guard-rooms 18 24

182

Two men's ditto 18 24

182

Total 272 32 101 $\frac{1}{2}$  1196

£. s. d.

272 chaldrons 32 bushels coals, at 15s. sterling  
per chaldron.

204 13 4

101 $\frac{1}{2}$  chords of wood, at 12s. sterling per chord

60 16 0

1196 pounds of candles, at 9d. per pound

44 17 0

Allowance to the soldiers for utensils, at 9d. each

8 7 10

To straw for 108 beds, at 1s. 6d. per bed a year

8 2 0

To brooms for 36 rooms, at 3s. per room a year

5 8 0

To sweeping 36 chimnies, at 3s. 4d. per chimney  
a year

6 0 0

To 17 officers, at 17s. 6d. each, in lieu of bed-  
ding

14 17 6

To assistant to the barrack-master, as 1s. per day

18 5 0

Sterling £. 371 6 8

ST. JOHN'S ISLAND.

No. of  
Rooms.

2 Companies

13

Commissary of provisions

1

14

*Chords Pounds of  
of Wood. Candles.*

Wood for 14 rooms, at 25 $\frac{1}{2}$  chords per  
room a year

353 $\frac{1}{2}$

Candles for 14 rooms, at 26 pounds ditto  
ditto

364

One guard-room

28

91

Total 381 $\frac{1}{2}$  455

A. 1776.

## D E B A T E S.

103

	£.	s.	d.
381½ chords of wood, at 4s. 8d. sterling per chord	89	0	4
455 pounds of candles, at 9d. sterling per lb.	17	1	3
Allowance to the soldiers for utensils, at 9½d. sterling each	4	2	4
To straw for 54 beds, at 1s. 6d. per bed a year	4	1	0
To brooms for 15 rooms, at 3s. per room a year	2	5	0
To sweeping 13 chimnies, at 3s. 4d. per chimney a year	2	10	0
To 7 officers, at 17s. 6d. each, in lieu of bedding	6	2	6
To a person acting as barrack-master, at 1s. per day	18	5	0
	<hr/>		
Sterling	£.	133	7 5

## M O B I L E.

No. of  
Rooms.

A regiment

59

Chords Pounds of  
of Wood. Candles.

Wood for 59 rooms, at 9½ chords per room a year	575½	
Candles for 59 rooms, at 26lb. ditto ditto		1534
Officers' guard-room	8½	91
Men's ditto	13	91
	<hr/>	
Total	596½	1716

	£.	s.	d.
596½ chords of wood, at 14s. sterling per chord	417	15	4
1716 pounds of candles, at 11d. sterling per lb.	78	13	0
Allowance to the soldiers for utensils, at 9½d. sterling each	18	11	3½
To straw for 228 beds, at 1s. 6d. per bed a year	17	2	0
To brooms for 61 rooms, at 3s. per room a year	9	3	0
To sweeping 61 chimnies, at 3s. 4d. each per year	10	3	4
To 31 officers, at 17s. 6d. each, in lieu of bedding	27	2	6
To a person acting for the barrack-master, at 1s. per day	18	5	0
	<hr/>		

Sterling £. 596 15 5½

H 2

RAN-

PENSACOLA.		No. of Rooms.
A regiment, excepting the garri- son of Apalachie		52
3 Lieutenants	} Royal artillery	2
85 Matrosses, &c.		3
5 Artificers		1
Fort-major		1
Barrack-master		1
Engineer		1
Commissary of provisions		1
Commissary of musters		1
A surgeon and 6 mates		4
		<hr/> 66.

*Chords Pounds of  
of Wood. Candles.*

Wood for 66 rooms, at $9\frac{1}{2}$ chords per room a year	643 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Candles for 66 rooms, at 26lb. ditto ditto		1716
Officers' guard-room	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	91
Men's ditto	13	91
Guard on Rose Island	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	91
Ditto at Campbell-town	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	91
Total	682 $\frac{3}{4}$	2080

	£.	s.	d.
682 $\frac{3}{4}$ chords of wood, at 14s. sterling per chord	477	12	2
2080 pounds of candles, at 10d. sterling per lb.	86	13	4
Allowance to the soldiers for utensils, at $9\frac{1}{2}$ d. sterling each		17	12 3 $\frac{1}{2}$
To straw for 216 beds, at 1s. 6d. per bed a year	16	4	0
To brooms for 70 rooms, at 3s. per room a year	10	10	0
To sweeping 70 chimnies, at 3s. 4d. each per year	11	3	4
To 40 officers, at 17s. 6d. each, in lieu of bed- ding	35	0	0
To assistant to the barrack-master, at 1s. a day	18	5	0
Sterling	£. 673	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$

APALA-



A. 1776

# DEBATES.

to

	No. of Rooms.
APALACHIE.	
1 Captain, 2 subalterns, 2 sergeants, 2 drummers, 60 rank and file	7
Acting barrack-master	1
	<hr/> 8

	Chords	Pounds of Wood.	Candles.
Wood for 8 rooms, at $9\frac{1}{2}$ chords per room a year	78		
Candles for 8 rooms, at 26lb. ditto ditto		208	
One guard-room	$8\frac{1}{2}$	<hr/> 91	
Total	$86\frac{1}{2}$		299

	£.	s.	d.
$86\frac{1}{2}$ chords of wood, at 4s. 8d. sterling per chord	20	4	1
299 pounds of candles, at 10d. per pound	12	9	2
Allowance to the soldiers for utensils, at $9\frac{1}{2}$ d. each	2	10	8
To straw for 30 beds, at 1s. 6d. per bed a year	2	5	0
To brooms for 9 rooms at 3s. per room per year	1	7	0
To sweeping 9 chimnies, at 3s. 4d. each per year	1	10	0
To 3 officers, at 17s. 6d. each, in lieu of bedding	2	12	6
To a person acting as barrack-master, at 1s. per day	18	5	0

Sterling £. 61 3 5

	No. of Rooms.
ST. AUGUSTINE.	
7 Companies	46
1 Captain	1
1 Lieutenant	$0\frac{1}{2}$
48 Matrosses, &c.	4
Chaplain	1
Commissary of provisions	1
Engineer	1
Barrack-master	1
A surgeon and 2 mates	2

57 $\frac{1}{2}$

H 3

Chords

*Chords Pounds of  
of Wood, Candles.*

Wood for 57½ rooms, at 9½ chords per room a year	560½	
Candles for 57½ rooms, at 26lb. ditto ditto		1495
Officers' room	8½	91
Men's ditto	13	91
Main officers' room	8½	91
Ditto men's ditto	13	91
Barrier	8½	91
Picalata	8½	91
Melanzes	8½	91
Mofa	8½	91
Total	638½	2223

	£.	s.	d.
638½ chords of wood, at 7s. sterling per chord	223	7	9
2223 pounds of candles, at 9d. sterling per lb.	83	7	3
Allowance to the soldiers for utensils, at 9½d. sterling each	16	6	2
To straw for 204 beds, at 1s. 6d. per bed a year	15	6	0
To brooms for 42 rooms, at 3s. per room a year	6	6	0
To sweeping 42 chimnies, at 3s. 4d. each per year	7	0	0
To assistant to the barrack-master, at 1s. a day	18	5	0

Sterling £. 369 18 2

FORT CHARTRES.

	No. of Rooms.
A regiment, 5 matrosses, &c.	59
Engineer	1
Barrack-master	1
Commiffary of provisions	1
	62

*Chords Pounds of  
of Wood. Candles.*

Wood for 62 rooms, at 13½ chords per room a year	844½	
Candles for 62 rooms, at 26lb. ditto ditto		1612
Officers' guard-room	13	91
Men's ditto	19½	91
Total	877½	1794

	£.	s.	d.
877½ chords of wood, at 4s. 8d. sterling per chord	204	13	10
1794 pounds of candles, at 1s. sterling per lb.	89	14	0
Allowance to the soldiers for utensils, at 9½d. sterling each	18	15	3
To straw for 228 beds, at 1s. 6d. per bed a year	17	2	0
To brooms for 64 rooms, at 3s. per room a year	9	12	0
To sweeping 64 chimnies, at 3s. 4d. per chimney a year	10	13	4
To 34 officers, at 17s. 6d. each per year	29	15	0
To assistant to the barrack-master at 1s. per day	18	5	0

Sterling £. 398 10 5

## FORT PITT.

	No. of Rooms.
2 Companies	13
1 Lieutenant	1
19 Matrosses, &c. 7 artificers	2
Conductor	0½
Barrack-master	1
Commiffary of provisions	1
Indian commiffary and interpreters	1½

20

*Chords Pounds of  
of Wood. Candles.*

Wood for 20 rooms, at 17½ chords per room a year	350	
Candles for 20 rooms, at 26lb. ditto ditto		520
Officers' guard-room	17½	91
Men's ditto	17½	91

Total 384½ 702

£. s. d.

384½ chords of wood, at 3s. 6d. sterling per chord	67	6	4
702 pounds of candles, at 1s. 6d. sterling per lb.	52	13	0
Allowance to the soldiers for utensils, at 9½d. each	5	2	11
To straw for 44 beds, at 1s. 6d. per bed a year	3	6	0
To brooms for 22 rooms, at 3s. per room a year	3	6	0

Carried over 131 14 3

H 4

To

Brought over £. 131 14 3

To sweeping 22 chimnies, at 3s. 4d. per chimney a year 3 13 4

To 11 officers, at 17s. 6d. each per year in lieu of bedding 9 12 6

To a labourer to deliver out the wood at 6d. a day 9 2 6

Sterling £. 154 2 7

## FORT CHARLOTTE.

No. of  
Rooms.

1 Serjeant and 17 rank and file 2

Chords Pounds of £. s. d.  
of Wood. Candles.Wood for 2 rooms, at 13½  
chords per room a year,  
at 4s. 8d. sterling per  
chord 27½ 6 7 2Candles for 2 rooms, at 26lb.  
ditto ditto, at 10d. sterling  
per pound 52 2 3 4Allowance to the soldiers for  
utenfils, at 9½d. sterling each 0 14 3To straw for 9 beds, at 1s. 6d.  
per bed a year 0 13 6To brooms for 2 rooms, at 3s.  
per room a year 9 6 0To sweeping 2 chimnies, at  
3s. 4d. per chimney a year 0 6 8

Sterling £. 10 10 11

## FORT PRINCE GEORGE.

No. of  
Rooms.

1 Ensign 1

1 Sergeant, 1 drummer, and 22 rank and file 2

3

Chords of Pounds of £. s. d.  
Wood. Candles.Wood for 3 rooms, at the  
above-mentioned allowance  
and price 40½ 9 10 9

Carried over 9 10 9

	Brought over	£. 9 10
Candles for ditto ditto	78lb.	3 5 0
Allowance to the soldiers for utensils, at 9½d. each		0 19 0
To straw for 12 beds, at 1s. 6d. per bed a year		0 18 0
To brooms for 3 rooms, at 3s. per room a year		0 9 0
To sweeping 3 chimnies, at 3s. 4d. each per year		0 10 0
To 1 officer, in lieu of bedding		0 17 6
	Sterling	£. 16 9 3

FORT AUGUSTA.

	No. of Rooms.
1 Lieutenant	1
1 Sergeant, 1 drummer, and 30 rank and file	3
	4

Chords Pounds of £. s. d.  
of Wood. Candles.

Wood for 4 rooms, at 13½ chords per room a year, at 4s. 8d. per chord	54½	12 14 4
Candles for ditto, at 26lb. per room a year, at 10d. sterling per pound	104	4 6 8
Allowance to the soldiers for utensils, at 9½d. sterling each		2 5 4
To straw for 16 beds, at 1s. 6d. per bed a year		1 4 0
To brooms for 4 rooms at 3s. per room a year		0 12 0
To sweeping 4 chimnies, at 3s. 4d. each per year		0 13 4
To 1 officer, in lieu of bedding		0 17 6
	Sterling	£. 21 13 2

FORT FREDERICK.

	No. of Rooms.
1 Corporal and 9 privates	1

Chords

	<i>Chords of Wood.</i>	<i>Pounds of Candles.</i>	£.	s.	d.
Wood for 1 room, at the above allowance and price	13½		3	3	7
Candles for ditto ditto		26	1	1	8
Allowance to the soldiers for utensils, at 9½d. each			0	7	11
To straw for 5 beds, at 1s. 6d. per bed a year			7	6	0
To brooms for 1 room, a year			0	3	0
To sweeping 1 chimney a year			0	3	4
<hr/>					
Sterling			£. 5	7	0

*Detail of the expense of an allowance to officers, in lieu of lodgings in garrisons where there are no officers' barracks.*

#### At QUEBEC.

	<i>Quebec Currency.</i>	<i>Sterling.</i>
4 Field officers, at 20l. each	£. 80 0 0	
14 Captains, at 12l. each	168 0 0	
34 Subalterns, at 9l. each	306 0 0	
8 Staff officers, at ditto	72 0 0	
2 Captains	24 0 0	
1 Lieutenant	9 0 0	
1 Surgeon	9 0 0	
Chaplain	12 0 0	
Barrack-master	12 0 0	
Commissary of provisions	12 0 0	
Commissary of musters	12 0 0	
Surgeon	12 0 0	
<hr/>		
728 0 0		566 4 5

#### THREE RIVERS.

3 Captains, at 12l. each	36 0 0	
6 Subalterns, at 9l. each	54 0 0	
Barrack-master	12 0 0	
<hr/>		
102 0 0		79 6 8
<hr/>		
Carried over		645 11 1
		MONT-

## MONTREAL.

	<i>Quebec Currency.</i>		<i>Sterling.</i>	
	Brought over		£. 645 11 1	
2 Field officers, at 20l. each	£. 40	0 0		
9 Captains, at 12l. each	108	0 0		
22 Subalterns, at 9l. each	198	0 0		
8 Staff officers, at 9l. each	72	0 0		
<i>Royal Artillery.</i>				
1 Captain	12	0 0		
1 Lieutenant	9	0 0		
Conductor	9	0 0		
<i>Staff of the garrison, as captains.</i>				
Town-major	12	0 0		
Barrack-master	12	0 0		
Chaplain	12	0 0		
Commissary of provisions	12	0 0		
Provost, marshal	12	0 0		
	508	0 0	395	2 2

## HALIFAX.

	<i>Sterling.</i>			
To the field officer commanding	30	0 0		
To 3 field officers, at 20l. each	60	0 0		
To 7 captains, at 5s. a week, 13l. each	91	0 0		
To 17 subalterns, at 3s. 6d. a week, 9l. 2s. each	154	14 0		
To 4 staff officers, at ditto ditto	36	8 0		
<i>Staff of the garrison, as captains,</i>				
Ordnance storekeeper	13	0 0		
Engineer	13	0 0		
Commissary of musters	13	0 0		
Barrack-master	13	0 0		
	424	2 0		

## ST. AUGUSTINE.

To a field officer commanding	30	0 0		
To 7 captains, at 5s. per week, 13l. each	91	0 0		
To 14 subalterns, at 3s. 6d. each per week, 9l. 2s.	127	8 0		
To 4 staff officers, ditto ditto	36	8 0		
Carried over	284	16 0	1464	15 3

	Sterling.			Sterling.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Brought over	284	16	0	1464	15	3
<i>Royal Artillery.</i>						
To 1 captain	13	6	0			
To 1 lieutenant	9	2	0			
<i>Staff of the garrison,</i>						
Chaplain	13	0	0			
Commissary of provisions	13	0	0			
Engineer	13	0	0			
Barrack-master	13	0	0			
Surgeon	13	0	0			
2 Mates, at 9l. 2s. each	18	4	0			
				390	2	0
				Sterling £. 1854	17	3

(Signed) JAMES ROBERTSON,  
Barrack-master-general.

*War Office.*

A true copy. BARRINGTON,

Estimate of expenses attending two troops of rangers established for the security and protection of the province of Georgia, and paid by bills drawn from time to time on the deputy paymaster-general by the governor of said province, the amount of which are charged by warrant to the extraordinary expenses of his Majesty's forces in North America, the said troops having been kept up in pursuance of orders from home, till his Majesty's pleasure shall be further signified.

	Sterling.		
	£.	s.	d.
First troop, Captain John Milledge's, at an average per annum	2218	0	0
Second troop, Captain James Edward Powell's, at ditto ditto	2642	3	0
	4860	3	0

Difference between the neat bills drawn on the deputy paymaster-general agreeable to the muster-rolls, and the money which is obliged to be paid to him at the current rate of exchange, calculating it at £.180

New



	Brought over	£. s. d. 4860 3 0
New York currency, for each £.100 sterling, amounts to		243 0 8

Total expense against the crown, per annum, at an average 5103 3 2

N. B. A difference may arise from the exchanges fluctuating, as likewise from deaths, desertions, &c. in said troops.

Made out agreeable to the expense attending the same last year.

War-office.

BARRINGTON.

An estimate of the expenses incurred in one year, for carrying on his Majesty's service in North America, in the department of the commissary-general of stores and provisions, commencing the 25th of Dec. 1765, and ending the 24th of Dec. 1766.

At NEW YORK.

	£. s. d.	Sterling. £. s. d.
For an assistant comptroller of accounts and stoppages, at 5s. 6d. per day	100 7 6	
Clerk in the office, at 4s. 8d. per day	85 3 4	
Inspector of provisions, at 4s. per day	73 0 0	
Cooper, at 3s. per day	54 15 0	
Two labourers, at 2s. per day each	73 0 0	
Stationary for the offices and out-posts	37 6 8	
Postage of letters, and packets of vouchers, from the out-posts, &c.	16 0 0	
Rent of store-houses, cellar, and office	150 0 0	
Firewood and candles for the office	20 0 0	
Cartage of provisions, &c.	10 0 0	
Commissary-general's house-rent	50 0 0	
Assistant comptroller's ditto	30 0 0	
Carried over		699 12 6

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Brought over				699	12	6
ALBANY.						
For one deputy commissary, at 5s. per day	91	5	0			
One cooper, at 3s. per day	54	15	0			
One labourer, at 2s. per day	36	10	0			
	<hr/>			182	10	0
FORTS GEORGE and EDWARD.						
For one deputy commissary, till the 24th Sept. 1766, 274 days, at 5s. per day	68	10	0			
Two labourers, till ditto, at 2s. per day	54	16	0			
One assistant commissary, from 25th Sept. to 24th Dec. 1766, 91 days, at 1s. per day	4	11	0			
	<hr/>			127	17	0
CROWN POINT and TICON- DEROGA.						
For one deputy commissary, at 5s. per day	91	5	0			
One cooper, at 3s. per day	54	15	0			
Two labourers, at 2s. per day	73	0	0			
	<hr/>			219	0	0
SCHENECTADY.						
For one deputy commissary, till 30th April 1766, being 127 days, at 5s. per day	31	15	0			
One labourer, 365 days, at 2s. per day	36	10	0			
	<hr/>			68	5	0
FORT STANWIX.						
For one deputy commissary, till 24th Oct. 1766, being 304 days, at 5s. per day	76	0	0			
Cooperage and labour, till ditto, 304 days, at 1s. per day	15	4	0			
A sergeant, as issuer of provi- sions, from 25 Oct. to 24 Dec. 1766, 61 days, at 1s. per day	3	1	0			
	<hr/>			94	5	0
Carried over	1391	9	6			

A. 1776.

## D E B A T E S.

115

Brought over

£.	s.	d.
139	9	6

## EAST END MEIDA LAKE.

For a sergeant, as issuer of provisions, till 4th May 1766, being 131 days, at 1s. per day

6 11 0

## FORT BREVERTON.

For a sergeant, as issuer of provisions, till 30th March 1766, being 97 days, at 1s. per day

4 17 0

## FORT ONTARIO and ONONDAGO FALLS.

For one deputy commissary, at 5s. per day

91 5 0

One cooper, at 3s. per day

54 15 0

Two labourers, at 2s. per day each

73 0 0

219 0 0

## OSWEGATCHIE and FORT WILLIAM AUGUSTUS.

For one deputy commissary, at 5s. per day

91 5 0

One cooper, at 3s. per day

54 15 0

Two labourers, at 2s. per day each

73 0 0

219 0 0

## NIAGARA and LITTLE LANDING.

For one deputy commissary, at 5s. per day

91 5 0

One cooper, at 3s. per day

54 15 0

Two labourers, at 2s. per day each

73 0 0

219 0 0

## LITTLE NIAGARA.

For one deputy commissary, till

June 24, 182 days, at 5s. per day

45 10 0

One cooper, 365 days, at 3s. do.

54 15 0

For a sergeant, as issuer of provisions, from June 25, 183 ditto, at 1s. per day

9 3 0

109 8 0

Carried over

2169 5 6

Brought over      £. s. d.      £. s. d.  
    2169    5    6

## FORT ERIE.

For one deputy commissary, at

5s. per day

91    5    0

One labourer, at 2s. ditto

36   10   0

---

 127   15   0

## DETROIT.

For one deputy commissary, at

5s. per day

91    5    0

One cooper, at 3s. per day

54   15   0

One labourer, at 2s. per day

36   10   0

---

 182   10   0

## MICHILLIMAKINAC.

For one deputy commissary, at

5s. per day

91    5    0

One labourer, at 2s. per day

36   10   0

---

 127   15   0

## PENNSYLVANIA.

For one inspector of provisions  
 on the whole communication  
 to 24 March 1766, being 90  
 days, at 5s. per day

22   10   0

Riding charges to ditto, ditto, at  
 3s. per day

13   10   0

Disbursed on account of the crown  
 by the inspector

6   8   11½

For one inspector of provisions,  
 from the 3d June to 24th Dec.  
 1766, being 205 days, at 5s.  
 per day

51    5    0

Riding charges to ditto, for 205  
 days, at 3s. per day

30   15   0

---

 124   8   11½

## PENSACOLA.

For one deputy commissary, at  
 5s. per day

91    5    0

One cooper, at 3s. per day

54   15   0

One labourer, at 2s. per day

36   10   0

---

 182   10   0

Carried over

---

 2914   4   5½

Brought over

£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
			29	14	5½

## MOBILE.

For one deputy commissary, at

5s. per day

91 5 0

One cooper, at 3s. per day

54 15 0

One labourer, at 2s. per day

36 10 0

182 10 0

FORT CHARTRES, and dependent Posts.

For one deputy commissary, at

5s. per day

91 5 0

One assistant commissary, at 7s.

New York currency per day,  
equal to

74 10 5

One cooper, at 3s. per day

54 15 0

Two labourers, at 2s. per day  
each

73 0 0

293 10 5

## NEW PROVIDENCE.

For an issuer of provisions, store-  
house, rent, stationary, &c. the  
whole at 3s. 6d. per day

48 12 6

## BERMUDAS.

For an issuer of provisions, store-  
house, rent, stationary, &c. the  
whole at 3s. 6d. per day

48 12 6

*Incidental Charges at sundry  
Places.*For the pay of a deputy commis-  
sary, who was arrested and de-  
tained in the service, to defend  
a lawsuit on account of the  
crown, from 1st March 1764,  
to 30th April 1766, being 79  
days, at 4s. 8d. per day

184 11 4

For victualling Captain Stirling's  
detachment at the Illinois, and  
on their passage down the  
river Mississippi, until their  
arrival at Pensacola

548 13 8

Carried over

3487 9 10½

Brought over

£. s. d. £. s. d.  
3487 9 10½

For the deputy commissary,  
taken off from Little Niagara,  
and sent to Detroit, while the  
deputy commissary came down  
to New York, to settle his ac-  
counts in my office (which  
were intricate, on account of  
the late Indian war, and the  
expedition under Colonel Brad-  
street, and returns again to his  
station, from 25th June, to  
24th Dec. 1766, being 183  
days, at 5s. per day

45 15 0

For pay to two ferreants, for is-  
suing provisions to sundry par-  
ties of men, of different regi-  
ments, at Elizabeth Town,  
New Jersey, from 30th May  
to 16th Sept. 1766, being 110  
days, at 6d. sterling per day

2 15 0

781 15 0

Total £. 4269 4 10½

Salt for repickling and preserving provisions, nails, chalk,  
and cooper's tools, with repairs of storehouses, &c. &c. can-  
not be ascertained.

(Signed) ROBERT LEAKE, Commissary.  
War-Office. BARRINGTON,

Estimate of the expenses of the works at the forts in the dis-  
trict of New York for 1766.

New York  
Currency.

MICHILIMACKINAC.

Repairing of the bark roofs of the  
house may cost

20 0 0

Cutting the brush and clearing  
round the fort, 10 men 4 days;  
at 10d. each per day

1 13 4

Carried over

21 13 4

*New York Currency.*

	Brought over £.	21	13	4
Corporal to ditto, at 1s. per day		0	4	0
Glass and nails wanted		11	15	0
Further repairs necessary at that post		15	0	0
		<hr/>		
		48	2	4

## DETROIT.

Repairs of inhabitants' houses occupied by the garrison	60	0	0
Roofing the provision storehouse	80	0	0
Flooring, doors for ditto, and other conveniences of sills, &c.	30	0	0
Furnishing the officers' and soldiers' barracks with closets, tables, stools, &c.	25	0	0
Pallisadoing the barrack-yard from the town, and gates to the same	100	0	0
A well and pump in ditto	16	0	0
Levelling barrack-yard; and making drains, and a necessary	25	0	0
Repairs of the hospital	30	0	0
A new guard house, two story high, with a platform at top, for two cannon to be erected at the gate, in manner of a strong tower, to defend the entrance of the town on that side	130	0	0
Lieut. Brehm's pay for 1766, as assistant engineer employed principally in completing the survey of the colony	219	0	0
Overseer and paymaster of the works, at 4s. per day	73	0	0
Stores of different kinds, as per list delivered with stationary	53	8	0
	<hr/>		
	841	8	0
N. B. The large stockade ought to be kept in repair by the inhabitants and traders.			

## FORT ERIE.

The wall to be raised 60 feet with a single log, will cost	25	0	0
	<hr/>		
Carried over	914	10	4

New York Currency:

Brought over

£. 914 10 4

Relaying the officers' room floor,  
and putting the barracks in order  
N. B. If for a little more the above  
can be done in stone, as the wall  
is already five feet high of ma-  
sonry, whether it is not more eli-  
gible?

6 5 0

## NIAGARA.

If the towers proposed to plunge  
into the ditches and flank the  
land front of this fort are con-  
structed, they would cost about  
300l. each; but if such are de-  
termined on, it would be best to  
prepare only the materials this  
year; however, the place is now  
in good repair; perhaps some  
stockades may be wanting, and  
the gates put in order

50 0 0

Ontario will want nothing done,  
but a new magazine must be built  
next year, if the garrison remains  
in that post.

## OSWEGATCHIE.

This place, by Capt. Sower's re-  
port, is very much out of repair.

The expenses of repairing the  
barracks, storehouses, and maga-  
zine, are as follow, viz.

To repairs necessary at the barracks  
to accommodate the garrison, as  
per particulars in Capt. Sower's  
estimate

£. 41 0 0

To ditto of one block-house, as per  
ditto

15 0 0

To ditto of officers' barracks

8 0 0

For the same to the baker's house  
and oven

6 0 0

Ditto for the powder magazine

9 0 0

79 0 0

Carried over

1049 15 4



*New York Currency.*

Brought over £. 1049 15 4

The same to, the provision store-house, now tumbling down, as per ditto

£. 31 0 0

For nails, hinges, and several other articles, as per ditto

40 0 0

71 0 0

N. B. Besides the above, the stock-ades, block-houses, and banquets, all in bad order.

## ALBANY.

Expense of removing the forage store, and rebuilding it on fort Orania with a cellar three feet under and three above ground, with the masonry of the cellar, cost

160 0 0

Repairs necessary to secure the store called Kilby's, and put it in order

45 0 0

205 0 0

## FORT PITT.

The barracks will want repairs for the garrison to be left there, and will employ five carpenters 180 days, at 1s. 3d. each

51 5 0

Sawing 5000 feet of boards, at 4s. per cwt.

10 0 0

Labourers to cut and bring timber, &c. 12 men, 100 days, at 10d. per day

50 0 0

For one serjeant attending ditto ditto time, at 1s. 6d. per day

7 10 0

For two masons repairing chimnies, plastering, &c. 130, at 1s. 3d. each

16 5 0

Small articles of stores

14 0 0

Quarrying, limestone, and other expenses of burning two kilns of lime, 500 bushels, at 1s. 6d. per bushel

37 10 0

186 10 0

Carried over 1512 5 4

New York Currency.

Brought over £. 1512 5 4

N. B. The under-ground wooden magazines in this, as in all the other forts, are mostly decayed, but there will be spare barracks enough to hold provisions, and every thing but powder.

Rent of an office and a drawing-room

£. 78 0 0

Wood for ditto

20 0 0

Paymaster and clerk of the works, his pay, and an allowance for lodging, at 5s. 8d. sterling per day, currency

176 8 4

The principal draughtsman, lodging money, at 1s. per day sterling, ditto

30 8 4

Pay of the assistant engineer Pitman at the Illinois

219 0 0

Supposed expenses incurred there

300 0 0

Stationary for the whole

50 0 0

---

 873 16 8

Postage, carriage of stores, &c.

60 0 0

Lieut. Pitman's arrear of pay as assistant engineer to 31 Dec. 1765

281 6 11½

Lieut. Brehm's dit. from 27 Aug. to 31 Dec. 1765

76 4 0

Mr. Pauli, assistant draughtsman's allowance of pay, from 12 Dec. 1765, to 1 April 1766, at 5s. per day

27 10 0

Repairing instruments for surveying, &c.

25 0 0

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 470 0 11½

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 2856 2 11½

£. 2856 2s. 11½d. New York currency, at

4s. 8d. sterling per dollar, is sterling £. 1666 1 8½

War Office.

(Signed)

HARRY GORDON,  
BARRINGTON.

Estimate

Estimate of expenses attending a regular post to and from New York to Albany, which was set on foot, and paid by the commander in chief, and will be continued, no provision being made by the post-master general for the same.

	Sterling.		
	£.	s.	d.
To two riders, salary per annum at 81l. 13s. 4d. each providing their own horses	163	6	8
To Henry Van Schaak, for making up and dispatching the mails at Albany, per annum	46	13	4
To Alexander Colden, Esq. for ditto, at New York, per annum	46	13	4
	<hr/>		
	256	13	4
By letters to merchants, &c. subject to postage, at an average per annum	20	0	0
	<hr/>		
Charge of the post against the crown	236	13	4
N.B. Made out agreeable to Mr. Colden, post-master, at New York, account of the last year.			
<i>War-Office.</i>			

## BARRINGTON.

An estimate of the naval department on the Lakes, for the year 1766.

Lakes.	Vessels.	Masters.	Mates.	Boat- swains.	Carpen- ters.	Store- keepers.	Sea- men.
Champlain	A sloop	1	1	1	1	1	6
Ontario	A schooner	1	1	1	1	1	16
Eric	Ditto	1	1	1	1	1	16
Huron	Ditto	1	1	1	1	1	16
<hr/>		<hr/>		<hr/>		<hr/>	
Total	4	4	4	4	4	4	54

	Number.	Pay per day or month.	£.	s.	d.
Masters	4	10s. per day	730	0	0
Mates	4	6l. per month	288	0	0
Boatswains	4	4l. per ditto	192	0	0
Carpenters	5	8s. per day	730	0	0
Sawyers	1	8s. per ditto	146	0	0
Storekeepers	4	2s. per ditto	146	0	0
Seamen	54	70s. per month	2268	0	0

£. 4500 0 0

Estimate

Estimate of naval stores necessary for the several vessels on the  
Lakes for 1766. £. s. d.

To thirteen pieces best heavy sail duck, at 5l. 10s. per piece		71	10	0
Seven pieces topsail duck, 290½ yards, at 2s. per yard		29	1	0
Two casks for packing ditto, and carting		0	18	0
One bundle of twine, 24lb. at 2s. 6d. per lb.		3	0	0
Thirteen barrels of rum, 420 gallons, at 2s. 8d. per gallon		56	0	0
Thirteen barrels, at 4s. per barrel, cartage, fill- ing, and carting, 20s.		3	12	0
	C. q. lb.			
Two cables wt. 26	0 14			
Two tow lines	3 2 7			
Two shrowd haw- fers	6 0 20			
Two coils 3 inch rope	3 2 0			
Four coils small ditto	2 1 19			
Three ditto	3 1 7			
Seven ditto	2 2 26			
Seven ditto	2 3 15	C. q. lb.		
	50 2 24	at 8os.	202	17 0
Twenty barrels pitch, 24l. 2s ditto tar, 16l.			40	0 0
Four barrels turpentine 96s. Leather and nails for the bungs, 17s.			5	13 0
Four jacks, 4 ensigns, and 4 pendants, contain- ing 80 yards of narrow red, white, and blue bunting, at 1s. 9d.			7	14 0
Eighty yards of broad ditto, ditto, ditto, at 3s. 6d.			10	0 0
Making the colours			3	16 0
Four dipse and 4 hand leads, wt. 120lb. at 8d.			4	0 0
Four dipse lines, wt. 64lb. at 2s.			6	8 0
Eight hand lines, 48s. 12 log lines, 36s.			4	4 0
Three kegs tallow, wt. 3 cwt.			10	10 0
Three kegs for ditto, 10s. 8d. three horn lan- terns, 27s.			1	17 6
Seven boxes candles, wt. 3 cwt.			12	12 0
Seven boxes for ditto, 12s. 3d. 9lb. thrumbs, 22s. 6d.			1	14 9

Carried over

475 7 3

	£.	s.	d.
	475	7	3
Brought over			
Twelve mop nails, 3s. Six scrubbing brush clamps, 12s.	0	15	0
Thirty pounds bend leather for the pumps, at 3s. 6d.	5	5	0
Six thousand pump and clapper nails, at 5s.	1	10	0
Six thousand scupper nails, at 12s.	3	12	0
Nine gallons linseed oil in iron bound kegs	4	1	0
To the kegs for ditto, 12s. To 51lb. white lead, 38s. 3d.	2	10	3
Forty-five pounds red oker, 22s. 6d. To three kegs for ditto, 9s.	1	11	6
Eighteen kegs lamp black, 27s. Twelve tar brushes, 15s.	2	2	0
Six paint brushes, 7s. 6d. Four ships compasses, 72s.	3	19	6
Forty pounds sewing twine, at 2s. 6d	5	0	0
Twenty-four yards of canvass, for covers for the above goods	3	12	0
Making and painting ditto	3	10	0
Two hogshheads and 1 tierce, to put the above articles in	1	11	0
Labour done in putting the leather on the bungs of the pitch	1	7	0
Cartage of ditto	0	13	0
Four two-hour glasses, 16s. Eight half-hour ditto, 16s.	1	12	0
Twelve half and a quarter minute ditto	0	18	0
Expenses attending sloop-hire, batteau-men, and waggon-hire for the above goods, from New York to the different Lakes, at an average	300	0	0
	818	16	6
Brought over	4500	0	0
Total expense of the naval department, New York currency	5318	16	6
At 4s. 8d. per dollar sterling, is	£.	3102	12 11
As made out by Lieut. Grant, commanding said department.			
War-Office.			

BARRINGTON.

Estimate

Estimate of the expense incurred in one year in the provinces of South Carolina and Georgia, for transporting provisions from the places of deposit to the forts Augusta, Prince George, and Charlotte, and to three sergeants for issuing the provisions there.

*Sterling,*

To charges already transmitted to New York for transporting provisions from Charlestown to the out-ports, for the use of the garrisons, from July 12, 1765, to March 2, 1766, being 234 days, certified by Capt. Philips commanding officer	£.	s.	d.
	179	1	1
To ditto for 131 days more, calculated at the above rate of 179l. 1s. 1d. sterling, for 234 days	100	4	9½
To three sergeants for issuing the provisions 52 weeks, at 1 dollar each per week	36	8	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>1½</b>

(Signed)

ROBERT LEAKE.  
BARRINGTON.

*War-Office.*

An estimate of the annual expense of the deputy quartermaster general's department in the district of New York for the year 1766.

	£.	s.	d.
To the freight of provisions for the garrisons of Louisbourg and Fort Amherst, 104 tons, at 3l. 8s. per ton	403	12	0
To the freight of provisions from New York to New Providence and Bermuda, 50 tons, at 5l. New York currency per ton	250	0	0
For the transportation of the clothing of 2 regiments from New York to Philadelphia	13	0	0
For the transportation of the clothing of one regiment from Philadelphia to Fort Pitt, for the use of the regiment quartered at the Illinois, weighing 32 cwt. at 2l. 5s. Pennsylvania currency per hundred	76	16	0
To the expense of the transportation of barrack-master general's stores to different places	80	0	0
To ditto for engineer's stores	30	0	0
<b>Carried over</b>	<b>853</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>0</b>

	Brought over	£.	s.	d.
To expence for building 48 batteaus at Fort Pitt, each at an average at 52l. 1s. 8d. per 2500l. Pennsylvania currency, equal in New York currency to		853	8	0
To transporting 1640 barrels of provision for a regiment at the Illinois from Fort Pitt, at the rate of 36 barrels in each boat, and navigated by 7 batteau-men, being 2070 miles to Fort Chartres, and back to Fort Pitt, paying each batteau-man 4l. Pennsylvania currency per month, and allowing 5 months to go and return, makes 20l. for each man, and 140l. for each boat; the above number of barrels will require 46 boats, and 18 barrels over; the whole amounting to 6440l. Pennsylvania currency, equal in New York currency to		2666	13	4
Two boats more for the clothing of a regiment, and the residue of provision, being 18 barrels, at the above rates, 208l. Pennsylvania currency, equal in New York currency to		6869	6	8
To the annual expence of the carrying place of Niagara, at per contract 100l. sterling, equal in New York currency to		298	13	4
To the annual expence of the carrying place of Ticonderoga		171	15	0
To the yearly rent of a storehouse at New York		60	0	0
For the soldiers' work in loading the vessels on the upper lakes with provisions, for the use of the back garriſons		40	0	0
For the freight of the clothing of the different regiments in America, from New York to Albany		50	0	0
For the expence of moving 4 regiments yearly		20	0	0
Stationary for the use of the department		480	0	0
For the hire of sloops from New York to Albany, and other places, to transport troops at different times		20	0	0
To pay a storekeeper and clerk, at 2s. 6d.		80	0	0
Carried over		11609	16	4

	£.	s.	d.
Brought over	11609	16	4
sterling per day, equal in New York currency to	61	1	3
To answer small contingent expenses, not included in the above amount	100	0	0
Total	11770	17	7

N. B. The whole of the above is New York currency.

The amount of the whole in sterling money, is

£. 6866 6 11

(Signed) in the absence of Sir JOHN ST. CLAIR,

THOMAS GAMBLE,

War-office.

Assistant deputy quarter-master-general.

Estimate for expenses (for one year) of the commissary of muster's office in North America, which, according to the disposition of the troops for 1766, is calculated as follows.

*For the Northern and Centre Departments.*

	No. of Miles.	Sterling. £.	s.	d.
From Quebec to Montreal, visiting the posts on each side the river	201	11	0	0
From Montreal to Chamblé, thence to St. John's, over Lake Champlain to Crown Point, Ticonderoga, and over Lake George to Fort George	200	8	0	0
To Fort Edward, and thence to Albany	70	5	0	0
To Fort Stanwix, and thence to Oswego	218	10	0	0
To Niagara, and over Lake Ontario	170	5	0	0
To Little Niagara, and thence to Detroit, over Lake Erie	280	6	0	0
To Michillimackinac, over Lake Huron, and return to Detroit	600	10	0	0
To Niagara	280	6	0	0
To Oswego	170	5	0	0
To Fort William Augustus (on river St. Lawrence)	136	5	0	0
To the Cedars	111	2	0	0
Crossing to Lake St. Louis	4	0	10	0
Carried over	2440	73	10	0



	No. of Miles.	Sterling: £. s. d.		
Brought over	2440	73	10	0
To La Chine, over Lake St. Louis	21	1	0	0
To Montreal	9	0	10	0
To Quebec	180	9	0	0
From New York to Philadelphia, thence to Fort Loudon 279 miles, Fort Littleton 19 miles, Fort Bedford 35 miles, Fort Pitt 107 miles, in all 480, and return to New York	880	35	0	0
This circuit is to be taken twice a year ; but as the severity of the season in the fall will not admit of visiting the posts beyond the inhabitants, there will be a deduction of 97l.		22	0	0
<i>Southern Department.</i>	3530	141	0	0
To passage from South Carolina to St. Augustine, about 150 leagues, and return to South Carolina (as there are no opportunities from thence to Pen- facola) is	900	10	0	0
To passage from South Carolina to Pen- facola by sea, about 280 leagues	840	15	0	0
To Appalachie, and return	110	5	0	0
To Mobile, and return	110	5	0	0
To Isle Nois (if practicable to get there) Nachette, by the mouth of Mississip- pi, 480 miles, Isle Nois 1260, is 7740 miles, and return, makes	3480	25	0	0
Return to South Carolina	840	15	0	0
To visiting the interior posts, province of South Carolina and Georgia, will take about thirty days		22	10	0
This circuit to be taken twice a year ; but the great distance to Isle Nois will admit of going there but once a year, so there will be a deduction of 25l.		97	10	0
		72	10	0
		170	0	0
Carried over		311	0	0

	<i>No. of Miles.</i>	<i>Sterling- £. s. d.</i>		
Brought over		311	0	0
Rent for the office at New York		30	0	0
Fire, candles, stationary, &c.		20	0	0
A clerk, at 5s. per day		91	5	0
Postage of letters is uncertain, till the correspondence is opened.				
Passage to Newfoundland, and return to Quebec	900	15	0	0
Ditto to island of Bermuda, and ditto to South Carolina	780	10	0	0
Ditto to island of Providence, and ditto ditto, if it should be thought necessary to go to these places	420	5	0	0
		<hr/>		
		482	5	0

Halifax department the nearest to New-  
foundland and Isle Breton.

*War-office.*

(Signed) JAMES PITCHER.  
BARRINGTON.

Estimate of ordinary contingencies in Nova Scotia, for one  
year.

*Halifax Garrison and its Environs.*

	<i>£. s. d.</i>	<i>Sterling.</i>
A house hired from Mr. South for a main guard, and an officers' guard-room, the rent thereof per annum	25 0 0	
Yearly rent of storehouses hired for the contractor's provisions, viz.		
Mr. Saul's store 80 }	105 0 0	
Ditto shed for issuing, &c. 25 }		
The rents of lots taken up by ma- jor-general Baskide for the lum- ber and lime-kiln yards	33 10 0	
The charge of couriers to and from the out-posts occasionally, and for ferryage across Mine's basin, may, at an average, amount to per annum	80 0 0	
	<hr/>	
Carried over	243 10 0	

A. 1776.

## D E B A T E S.

113

	£.	s.	d.	Sterling.
Brought over	243	10	0	
Stationary and books to the commanding officer		15	0	0
To the expense of the King's boats in annual repairs, cordage, pitch, tar, sails, grapplings, &c. (the boats are employed in carrying provisions, fuel, &c. and in relieving the several posts round the harbour, a boat being necessary at every post)		45	0	0
A person employed to take care of the boats, at 1s. 6d. <i>per diem</i>		27	7	6
Six men besides employed in the boats for 8 months, at 1s. <i>per diem</i> each		73	4	0
To the expense of sundry small unforeseen incidents that cannot be contracted for, or fall within the barrack-master's department or the engineer's estimate		60	0	0
To an allowance to the commanding officer for paying persons employed in copying, &c. at 3s. <i>per diem</i>		54	15	0
				<hr/> 518 16 6

## FORT CUMBERLAND.

For a team employed every four weeks for carrying provisions to the party at Bay Verte, at 20s. each, is for a year

Repairs for the King's boats about

13	0	0
3	0	0
<hr/>		
	16	0 0

To the rent of an office of the commanding officer for doing the public business

Fire and candles for ditto

20	0	0
10	0	0
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	30	0 0

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364 16 6

As transmitted by Lieutenant-col. Dalrymple, commanding officer at Halifax.

*War-office.*

BARRINGTON.

Estimate

Estimate of the yearly contingent expenses of the garrison of  
Louisbourg, Island Battery, and colliery.

To a cooper for the victualling office, 365 days, at 1s. 6d. per day	£.	s.	d.
	27	7	6
Two horses, a cart, and driver, at 9d. per day, with corn, hay, shoeing, and mending the harness, with corn, hay, &c. for a bull	40	0	0
For a boatman, at 6d. per day, with ropes, pitch, tar, oars, oakum, and workmanship for 365 days, at 6d. more	18	5	0
For a smith for repairing grates and other work for the barrack, supposing he works three days in a week, at 1s. per day	7	16	0
For the command at the colliery for 60 chal- dron of coals, at 5s.	15	0	0
For the director of the mines for 365 days, at 5s. per day	91	5	0
For lumber for the repair of the stage, cor- dage, utensils, candles, &c. at the coal- mines, about	100	0	0
For the hire of a shallop to carry coals to the island where it is difficult to land	4	0	0
Transporting provisions to Fort Amherst, about	50	0	0
For two carpenters and two masons that will be wanted for repairing the barracks at the citadel, and the officers' quarters, to be fur- nished from the troops, for 365 days, at 1s. each per day	73	0	0

Sterling 426 13 6

War-office.

(Signed) ROBERT MILWARD, Major 59th regiment.  
BARRINGTON.

Estimate of the annual expense attending the office of com-  
missary-general of stores and provisions for the province of  
Quebec, as near as the same can be ascertained, viz.

	Sterling.	£.	s.	d.
To a clerk at Quebec, at 3s. per diem		54	15	0
To labourers		27	0	0

Carried over 81 15 0

	£.	s.	d.
Brought over	81	15	0
To coopers, hoops, nails, &c.	42	0	0
To repairing of stores	68	0	0
To candles, and sundry small articles	6	10	0
To freights from Quebec to Three Rivers	80	0	0
To carriage of provisions from the stores on board vessels for Three Rivers	25	0	0
To a clerk's salary there, at 3s. <i>per diem</i>	54	15	0
To labourers at the same place	10	0	0
Stationary for the whole department	12	0	0
Postage of letters ditto	15	0	0
To an assistant commissary at Montreal, at 5s. <i>per diem</i>	91	5	0
To a clerk at Chambly, near Montreal, at 2s. 6d. <i>per diem</i>	45	12	6
To surveyors for all the contractors' provisions expended in this and the garrison of Three Rivers	30	0	0
To rent of an office at Quebec	26	0	0
	<hr/>		
	587	17	6

N. B. The expence of labour and transporting of provisions in the district of Montreal, and the posts above that garrison, has hitherto been paid by the quarter-master-general.

(Signed) J. GOLDFRAN.

War-Office.

BARRINGTON.

Estimate of the annual expenses of his Majesty's hospital in the garrison of Quebec, as nigh as they can be ascertained.

	Sterling.	£.	s.	d.
To the clerk's wages	30	0	0	0
To a nurse, at 8d. per day	12	3	4	
To sundry extra nurses	12	0	0	
To repairs of the hospital	5	0	0	
To bedding	7	10	0	
To candles	2	15	0	
To fire-wood, 100 chords, at 6s. per chord	30	0	0	
Sheets and linen for the use of the hospital	9	10	0	
Washing	5	10	0	

Carried over  
K

214 2 4

VOL. V.

£. s. d.  
114 8 4

Brought over

The other necessaries, such as wine, sugar, and proper diet, as they depend upon the number of sick, the nature of the diseases, &c. cannot with any precision be ascertained; but supposing 20 men each day in the hospital, at 4d. per man, besides the 4d. proposed to be stopped, they may amount to

121 13 4

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236 1 8

(Signed) ADAM MABANE.  
*War-Office.* BARRINGTON.

Estimate of expenses attending the brigadier-general's department for the northern district, per annum, in time of peace.

*Ordinary Expenses.*

	£.	s.	d.	Sterling. £. s. d.
A clerk, at 5s. <i>per diem</i>	91	5	0	
Postage of letters	50	0	0	
Stationary and office	30	0	0	
Occasional expenses and other contingent charges	60	0	0	
	<hr/>			231 5 0

*Extraordinary Expenses.*

Repairing the guard-house at Montreal	15	19	0	
Repairing the Provost at ditto	70	16	8	
	<hr/>			86 15 8
				<hr/>
				318 0 8

(Signed) EYRE MASSEY,  
Lieut. Col. commanding at Montreal.  
*War-Office.* BARRINGTON.

Estimate of the expense attending the assistant deputy quartermaster-general's department, under the brigadier-general, commanding in the northern district, per annum, in time of peace.

To estimate of supplies from Montreal to Fort William Augustus, to 1000 men for one

year,

New York  
Currency.

year, being carriage by land and water of 3050 packages, or barrels of provisions	£.	s.	d.
To estimate of carrying by land and water the supply for 100 men for Crown Point, from Montreal to St. John's, being 305 barrels of provisions	2011	0	0
To expense of appointments to the persons ne- cessary to be employed under the direction of the assistant deputy quarter-master-general (a commissary at Lachine, a store-keeper, master-carpenter, batteau-master, waggon- master, English clerk, and French clerk), for carrying on the service of supplies of provisions, stores, or any thing else, from Montreal to Crown Point, or to the upper posts, as far as Oswego, with some contin- gencies, will amount to	210	0	0
To yearly rent of a storehouse at Lachine, for provisions	700	0	0
To two merchants' surveyors, at a medium on provisions for 100 days, at 10s. sterling each <i>per diem</i>	100	0	0
To working parties, at a medium, for rolling provisions, and other necessary works to be done	171	9	0
To expresses, messengers, and horse hire, as there may be occasion	200	0	0
To office rent, firing, and candles, per annum	80	0	0
To postage and stationary	150	0	0
	60	0	0

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3682 9 0

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3682l. 9s. New York currency, at 4s. 8d. ster-  
ling per dollar, is sterling

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2148 1 11

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This estimate of expense of carriage by land  
and water, for supplying the troops with  
provisions from Montreal, Fort William  
Augustus, or Oswegatchie, supposing it re-  
quisite for the upper posts of 1000 men,  
also from Montreal to St. John's for 100  
men, includes all expense for new boats,

K 2

workmen,

workmen, reparations, and materials of every fort.

(Signed) JOHN MAXWELL,  
Assistant deputy quarter-master-general.  
War-Office.

## BARRINGTON.

Estimate of the annual expense of Fort Amherst, St. John's Island.

	£.	s.	d.
To 4000 feet of plank for repairing the barrack, and rebuilding the porch of the gateway which fell in, at 5l.	20	0	0
To 3000 shingles, at 20s.	3	0	0
To 1 barrel of pitch, and 1 of tar, for caulking of boats, barracks, &c.	2	10	0
To 5-cwt. of iron, at 27s.	6	15	0
To 2 cwt. of oakum for repairing and caulking the barracks and boats, at 4d. per lb.	2	14	8
To a boat's road for the vessel run away with, 2 cwt. 2 qrs. at 2l. 15s.	6	17	6
To rope for painters, and stores for hoisting provisions, &c. 1 cwt. 3 qrs. at 2l. 15s	4	16	3
To 2000 bricks, for repairing chimneys and hearths, at 25s.	2	10	0
To a sloop run away with, bought for the use of the garrison	12	0	0
To 5 barrels of lime, at 15s.	3	15	0
To 28lb. of steel, at 1s.	1	8	0
To sundry tools	6	2	6
To one cross-cut saw	0	16	0
	<hr/>		
	74	4	13
<i>Artificers and labourers.</i>			
To carpenters' hire	18	0	0
To smith's work, making nails, cast work, &c.	7	7	6
To mason's work	5	10	0
To carter's work	10	10	0
	<hr/>		
	41	7	6
Carried over	115	12	5



	£.	s.	d.
Brought over	115	12	5
To boatmen and mariners employed in the canoes and sloop	12	0	0
To Mr. Webster's shallop, lost last winter in pursuit of the deserters from fort Amherst	10	0	0
	<hr/>		
	137	12	5

War-Office.

Sterling. £. 137 12 5  
BARRINGTON.

Estimate of the supposed expense of one year, in the quartermaster-general's department at Albany.

	<i>New York Currency.</i>		
To transporting naval stores from Schenectady to Oswego in batteaus	260	0	0
To ditto clothing, baggage, &c. from Schenectady to Oswego in batteaus	100	0	0
To ditto for artillery stores to ditto	60	0	0
To ditto for provisions for Indians to Johnson's hall, &c. &c.	200	0	0
To ditto done by the troops, between the first landing from Niagara to fort Erie	250	0	0
To ditto for provisions to fort Hunter, &c.	10	0	0
For new batteaus, and for carpenters' wages in repairing the old	456	8	0
For nails, pitch, oakum, tar, rope, &c.	90	0	0
For a waggon-master and 5 teamsters' wages, employed at Niagara, from 25 Dec. to 16 May following, both inclusive	159	9	0
For bars, poles, paddles, scoops, &c.	150	0	0
For a man and horse to forward the army letters	28	0	0
For transporting in carriages, from Albany to Schenectady, the provisions, artillery, engineer's stores, naval stores, baggage, &c. sent to the westward	300	0	0
For ditto to fort George	200	0	0
For ditto over the carrying places on the Mohawk river	120	0	0
For one waggon-master's pay, from 25 Dec. to 24 June, both inclusive	54	15	0
	<hr/>		
Carried over	2438	12	0

K 3

*New York  
Currency.*

	Brought over	£. 2438	12	0
For one waggon-master's pay, from 25 June to 24 Dec. inclusive		45	15	0
For one storekeeper's wages, from 25 Dec. to 24 June, both days inclusive		27	6	0
For Justice Glen, my assistant at Schenectady, his pay from 25 Dec. to 24 June, both inclusive, at 12s. a day		109	4	0
For Justice Glen's pay, from 25 June to 24 Dec. both inclusive, at 6s.		54	18	0
For a clerk's pay, from 25 Dec. to 24 Dec. following, both inclusive		146	0	0
For stationary		25	0	0
		<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
		2846	15	0

£. 2846 15s. od. New York currency, at  
4s 8d. sterling per dollar, is, sterling £. 1160 12 1

*War-Office.*

(Signed) JOHN BRADSTREET.  
BARRINGTON.

List of the officers of the northern department of Indian affairs, under the superintendency of Sir William Johnson, Bart. with their respective salaries, and also those appointments intended by the plan for the better management of Indian affairs, &c.

	<i>Per Annum.</i>	
	<i>Sterling.</i>	
Sir W. Johnson, bart. sole agent and superintendant, &c.	£. s. d.	
	600	0 0
George Croghan, Esq. deputy agent for the Ohio and westward	200	0 0
Daniel Claus, Esq. ditto, for Canada, &c.	200	0 0
Guy Johnson, Esq. ditto, for the middle district, immediately under the superintendant	200	0 0
Thomas Mac Key, assistant for the Ohio and Susquehanna, &c.	60	0 0
<i>Commissaries appointed in consequence of the plan.</i>		
Edward Cole, commissary at the Illinois	200	0 0
Jehu Hay, ditto at Detroit	200	0 0
Benjamin Roberts, ditto at Niagara	150	0 0

Carried over 1810 0 0

Per Annum.  
Sterling.

Brought over	£.	1810	0	0
<i>Commissaries appointed in consequence of the plan.</i>				
Alexander Mac Ree, commissary at fort Pitt		150	0	0
Norman Mac Leod, ditto at Ontario		120	0	0

*Interpreters.*

One at Illinois				
Two at Detroit, at 80l. each		160	0	0
One at Niagara		80	0	0
Two at fort Pitt, one 80l. and one at 50l.		130	0	0
One at Ontario		70	0	0
One at Michillimackinac		80	0	0
Two in Canada, one for the Ottawa language, the other for the six Canada nations, at 50l. each		100	0	0
Two with the superintendant, at 58l. 6s. 8d. sterling each for the present		116	13	4

*Smiths.*

One at Illinois				
One at Michillimackinac				
One at Detroit				
Their salaries as yet unsettled.				
One at Niagara		80	0	0
One at Ontario		70	0	0
One at fort Pitt		80	0	0
Two, with their assistants, for the two Mohawk villages, Oneidas, Tuscaroras, &c. at 100l. each		200	0	0
Storekeeper, 23l. 6s. 8d. and storehouse rent 29l. 3s. 4d.		52	10	0

£. 3289 3 4

Besides the foregoing, there are several commissaries, interpreters, and smiths intended by the plan, which are indispensably necessary, and not yet appointed, viz.

*Commissaries.*

	£.	s.	d.
One at La Baye	200	0	0
One at Chicoutami, on the Saquenay river	150	0	0
One at Michillimackinac	200	0	0
One at fort Halifax, Kenebec river	100	0	0
One at fort Frederick, St. John's river	100	0	0
One proposed at Montreal or Carillon	120	0	0

K 4

*Inter-*

*Interpreters.*

	£.	s.	d.
One at La Baye	80	0	0
One at Chicoutami	70	0	0
One at fort Halifax	60	0	0
One at fort Frederick	60	0	0

*Smiths.*

One at La Baye	100	0	0
One at Chicoutami	86	0	0
One at Montreal or Carillon	80	0	0
One at fort Halifax	70	0	0
One at fort Frederick	70	0	0

Secretary for Indian affairs (now vacant), the office of clerk of the city and county of Albany being separated from it, should be at least

Sir William Johnson likewise, in his answer to the Lords of Trade, in consequence of the present extent of our Indian alliances, and the extraordinary expenses incurred by him, and his three deputies, both at home and abroad, for which no regular account can be made, requested that their Lordships would be pleased to procure an augmentation of his salary, and an addition of 100l. sterling per annum, to each of his three deputies.

*War-Office.* (A true copy.)

BARRINGTON.

Estimate for repairing the church of St. Francis, at St. Augustine's, for soldiers' barracks, viz.

	£.	s.	d.
To repairing the roof, and taking down the steeple, and roofing the same	14	0	0
To building four pillars, breaking out doors, and repairing the walls	15	0	0
To making a floor the whole length of the church, workmanship and materials included, as a second floor to the barrack	78	16	0
To building a staircase, workmanship and materials included	24	12	0
For making four partitions, ditto	23	8	0
For 8 windows, with shutters, at 1l. 12s. per window	12	16	0
For 3 doors, at 1l. 18s. per door	5	14	0
For 44 bedsteads, at 1l. 10s. per bedstead	66	0	0

3

Carried over

240 0 0

	£.	s.	d.
Brought over	240	0	0
For building a necessary house, workmanship and materials included	14	10	0
For 900 feet of pale fence, for enclosing the ground belonging to the barracks	22	10	0
Total for repairing the church	277	0	0

Estimate for building five kitchens, two for the officers, and three for the soldiers, viz.

	£.	s.	d.
2820 feet of stone work, at 3l. 10s. per hundred feet, labour and materials included	106	7	0
2350 feet of roofing, at 4l. per hundred feet, workmanship and materials included	94	0	0
500 feet of joists, at 1l. per hundred feet	5	0	0
5 doors, at 1l. 2s. per door	5	10	0
5 windows, at 1l. 2s. per window	5	10	0
For making two partitions and benches for the kitchens, materials included	7	10	0
For making two wells	10	0	0
Total for the kitchens, sterling	233	17	0

(Signed) JAMES MONCRIEF,

Ensign of engineers.

War-Office. (A true copy.) BARRINGTON.

Estimate of the expenses necessary for the repairs of the several yards, storehouses for the ordnance service, and batteries at Halifax in Nova Scotia.

*The square store for small arms, &c.*

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
172 feet water table, at 3d.	2	3	0			
31 square clapboarding, at 13s.	20	3	0			
22 ditto shingling, to be ripped and new laid, at 2bs.	22	0	0			
18 ditto flooring, to be ripped, shot, and relaid, at 7s.	6	6	0			
400 feet of boards, to supply deficiencies in the floor	0	18	0			
A new stair to the entry	5	0	0			
				56	10	0

## Brought over

£. s. d.

£. s. d.

56 10 0

*The long store for small arms, &c.*

202 feet water table, at 3d.	2	10	6
38½ square clapboarding, to be ripped and new laid	26	19	0
24 square shingling, to be ripped and new laid, at 20s.	24	0	0
1680 feet of flooring in the garret, ditto, at 7d.	5	17	7
1260 feet of ground flooring joint, &c. to be taken up	1	17	9½
10½ rods of dry stone wall under the sommers.	1	11	6
2½ ton of timber for new sommers, at 15s.	1	17	6
500 feet of joists, of 8 by 3 inches, for deficiencies	2	0	0
Framing 1260 feet of flooring, at 8d.	5	0	9½
600 feet of boards to supply deficiencies	1	7	0
Flooring 1260 feet of ground floor	4	8	2½
18 new window frames, at 6s.	5	8	0
6 pair of hinges for the lower window shutters	0	9	0
A new set of ramping skids for a new stair	1	10	0

84 16 10½

*The bedding store.*

10 rods of underpinning in masonry, at 14s.	7	0	0
24 square shingling, to be ripped and new laid	24	0	0
20 square clapboarding, at 13s.	13	0	0
16 square flooring, to be taken up, shot, and relaid	5	12	0
204 feet water table, at 3d.	2	11	0
320 feet of boards to make up deficiencies	0	14	5

52 17 5

Carried over

194 4 3½

A. 1776.

## D E B A T E S.

143

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Brought over				194	4	3½

*The laboratory.*

5 rods underpinning in masonry, at 14s.	3	10	0
32 squares clapboarding, at 13s.	20	16	0
29 ditto shingling, to be ripped and new laid, at 20s.	29	0	0
Three window frames and 3 pair of hinges, at 7s. 6d.	1	2	6
A small gateway	5	0	0

59 8 6

*The ordnance yard.*

600 feet running of new pali- sading, the pickets to be 16 feet long, by 9 inches diame- ter, to be cut by the troops, viz. 650 palisadoes at 4½ on the wharf, provided the pro- prietors of the ground demand nothing for leave to cut them	12	3	9
Digging the trench, and plant- ing them four feet deep, at 20s.	6	10	0
A new gate	6	0	0

24 13 9

*The gun tackling store.*

Removing the ruins of the shed, about	4	10	0
8 squares of weather boarding, feather-edged	4	0	0
8 square clapboarding	5	4	0
27 squares shingling to be ripped and new laid	27	0	0
2160 feet of flooring to be taken up, shot, and relaid	7	11	2½
450 feet of boards to supply de- ficiencies	1	0	3

49 5 5½

*The junk store.*

13 squares of clapboarding, at 13s.	8	9	0
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Carried over	336	9	11½
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	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Brought over				336	0	11½
13½ squares shingling, to be ripped and new laid	13	10	0			
9 squares of flooring ditto, at 10s. 6d.	4	14	6			
2 new window frames, at 6s.	0	12	0			
2 rods underpinning, at 14s.	1	8	0			
	<hr/>			20	4	6

*The lumber yard.*

Removing 70 squares of fencing, at 1s.	3	10	0			
Digging pits for, and planting 148 posts four feet deep, at 1s.	7	8	0			
Boarding 70 square of fence of new, at 3s.	10	10	0			
10 rods of masonry in buttresses, at 12s.	6	0	0			
	<hr/>			27	8	0

*The artillery barracks.*

202 feet water table, at 3d.	2	0	6			
25½ square of clapboarding, to be ripped and new laid, at 14s.	17	17	0			
30 squares shingling, at 20s.	30	0	0			
	<hr/>			49	17	6

*The armourer's shop.*

420 feet ranging timber, at 16s.	3	7	0			
680 feet quartering stuff, at 5s.	1	14	0			
480 feet two-inch plank, at 4l. 10s.	2	3	2			
2600 feet of boards, at 2l. 5s.	5	17	0			
960 clapboards, at 2l. 10s.	2	8	0			
6900 shingles, at 10s.	3	9	0			
1200 twenty-penny nails	0	9	0			
20lb. of spikes, at 6d.	0	10	0			
2900 eight-penny nails	0	14	6			
6900 shingle nails	0	17	3			
1 door	0	10	0			
1 pair of door hinges, 3s. 6d.						
one lock 4s.	0	7	6			
5 window frames, 12 squares each, at 10s.	2	10	0			

Carried over 24 16 7 433 10 11½



	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Brought over	24	16	7	433	10	11½

*Workmanship.*

Opening the foundation 20 yards, at 6d.	0	10	0
Masonry in the foundation, and under the sommers, 7 rods, at 12s.	4	4	0
A hearth and chimney	15	9	0

*Carpenter's work.*

22½ squares framing, at 8s.	9	0	0
19 square feather-edge weather boarding and lining	4	15	0
7 square boarding in the roof	1	1	0
9½ square clapboarding, at 6s.	2	17	0
7 square shingling, at 5s.	1	15	0
480 feet flooring square joints with plank	1	18	5
92 feet water table, at 3d.	1	3	0
	<hr/>		
	67	0	0

*The governor's battery.*

47 posts and capes in the break- water with framing, at 3s.	7	1	0
Three-inch plank oak, 2950 feet, at 7l. 10s.	22	2	6
Clay in the break-water 7809 ditto, 289 yards, at 2s. per yard	28	18	0
Framing 29½ square feather-edge, at 10s.	14	15	0
Removing the remainder of earth and logs in the parapet 33,350 feet, 1235 yards, at 3d.	15	8	9
Ditto in the trapezium 15,969 ditto, 592 ditto, at 3d.	7	18	0
	<hr/>		
Carried over	95	13	0
	500	10	11½

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Brought over	95	13	3	500	10	11½
Filling, wheeling, forming, and ramming earth in the new parapet and the trapezium, 39,603 feet, 1467 yards, at 1s.	73	7	0			
Sod in facing and capping 7084 feet, 262 yards, at 2s. a yard	26	4	0			
14 platforms, three-inch oak plank, at 3l. 10s.	49	0	0			
A new stair or ramp	2	10	0			
	<hr/>			246	14	3
South gate battery				246	14	3

*South five gun battery.*

35 posts and caps with framing, at 3s.	5	5	0
Three-inch oak plank for the break-water, 2000 feet, at 7l. 10s.	15	0	0
Clay in the break-water 5600 feet, 207 yards, at 2s. per yard	20	14	0
Framing 20 square feather-edge, at 10s. per square	10	0	0
Removing logs, &c.	12	10	0
Filling, wheeling, &c. earth in the new parapet 53,820 feet, 1993 yards, at 1s. per yard	99	13	0
Sod work in facing and capping 4554 feet, 169 yards, at 2s. per yard	16	18	0
9 new platforms, oak plank three inch, at 3l. 10s.	31	10	0
A new stair	6	0	0
	<hr/>		

*North five gun battery.*

34 posts and caps with framing, at 3s.	5	2	0			
Carried over	5	2	0	1211	9	5½

A. 1776.

## D E B A T E S.

147

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Brought over	5	2	0	1211	9	5½
Three-inch oak plank in the break-water, 1658 feet, at 7l. 10s.	12	8	8			
16½ square framing feather-edge, at 10s.	8	5	0			
Crust of clay in the break-water 4948 feet, 183 yards, at 2s.	18	6	0			
Removing earth and logs from the parapet 11,900 feet, 663 yards, at 3d.	8	5	9			
Ditto in trapezium 7697 feet, 285 yards, at 3d.	3	11	3			
Filling, wheeling, &c. earth in the new parapet and trapezium, 20,151 feet, 746 yards, at 1s. per yard	37	6	0			
Sodding in facing and capping 3424 feet, 127 yards, at 2s. per yard	12	14	0			
5 platforms, at 3l. 10s.	17	10	0			
A new stair	2	10	0			
	<hr/>			125	18	8

*To enclose the land reserved for his Majesty on the hill.*

To enclose 1110 yards, with a ditch 4 feet wide at top, 1 at bottom, and 3 feet deep; the earth to be formed into a bank on the inside, at 9d. per yard

A gate for ditto at the citadel

Stationary for the engineer for reports, plans, &c.

Total in Halifax currency

Add for incidents which cannot be foreseen  $\frac{1}{6}$

Sum total, including incidents, carried over

41 5 0  
5 0 0  

---

46 5 0

6 0 0  

---

£. 1389 13 1½

231 12 2½  

---

1621 5 3¾

	£.	s.	d.
Sum total, including incidents, brought over	1621	5	3½
Deduct 1/8	162	2	6½
Sum total in sterling	£. 1459	2	9½

(Signed) JOHN MARR,  
Sub-engineer.

War-Office.

(A true copy.)

BARRINGTON.

Total of the expense for one year, according  
to the preceding estimates £. 57,122 2 8½

January 21, 1777.

Private business.

January 22.

Estimates of invalids, officers' widows, &c. presented.

January 23.

Not members sufficient for a ballot.

January 24.

The same.

January 25.

Adjourned to January 27.

*January 27.*

Ballot for Hindon election.

*January 28.*

Ballot for Shaftesbury election.

*January 29.*

A petition from the committee of the company of merchants trading to Africa, being offered to be presented to the House;

Lord *North*, by his Majesty's command, acquainted the House, that his Majesty, having been informed of the contents of the petition, recommends it to the consideration of the House.

Then the petition was brought up, and read; setting forth, "That the petitioners have laid before the House an account of the money granted for the year 1775, examined and passed by the Cursitor Baron of the Exchequer, as required by an act of 23 George II. intituled, "An Act for extending and improving the trade to Africa;" and that they have invested the money granted in 1776 for the support and maintenance of the forts and settlements on the said coast; and that the said forts and settlements having been delivered to the petitioners in a very bad state by the Royal African Company, and the sums annually granted by Parliament being nearly expended in the civil and military establishments, leaving very little for the repairs of the said forts, several of them still remain in a very ruinous condition; and that the House in the year 1772, granted the sum of 2400*l.* to finish the repairs of Cape Coast castle; but, in the progress of the work, the walls of the fort were found in so very decayed a state, and so many defects discovered, that the petitioners have been unavoidably led into the expense of a much larger sum, and the repairs of the said fort still remain unfinished, nor can the petitioners proceed therein until the House shall enable them; and that, at the end of December 1775, the officers and servants in Africa had advanced for the public service about 7000*l.* more than the petitioners have been enabled to repay them; and that the said officers have further advanced about 1200*l.* to the inhabitants of Lagoe and Mumford, two principal trading towns on the coast of Africa, in order to preserve the commerce of those towns to the British nation, which advance the said officers pray may be repaid them; and that the expense of freight and insurance on the goods and stores sent to Africa this year will amount to near 1000*l.* extraordinary; and that the petitioners, being sensible of the great regard shewn by the House for the British forts and settlements

lements on the coast of Africa, therefore pray the House to take the premises into consideration, and grant such sum for the necessary support and maintenance of the said forts and settlements, for repaying the officers and servants the several sums of money advanced by them, and likewise for the repairs still wanted, as shall seem meet."

Ordered, that the said petition do lie upon the table.

Earl *Nugent* observed, that the present state of the African Company called for particular attention; that regular demands were made every year in Parliament, for grants to defray the civil establishment; besides particular ones, for the repairs of fortifications, &c.; that certainly it was an object worthy of inquiry, to know how the money granted was expended; yet he could not recommend such an inquiry to Parliament, in the present state of public affairs, when he recollected what happened on a former occasion. In the year 1775, the same doubts existed; a committee was appointed, and employed a great part of that session, it was a tedious affair, and answered very little purpose. He could not, therefore, think of proceeding in the same manner now, particularly as it might be supposed that matters of much greater consequence would call for the attention of Parliament. On these general grounds he moved, "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, that he will be pleased to give directions, that the Board of Trade may inquire into the present state, &c. of the African company."

Mr. *A. Bacon* was of the same opinion, and that it was necessary that the grant should precede any inquiry in that House.

Mr. *Vyner* said he well remembered the time alluded to by the noble Lord and the hon. Gentleman. He recollected several curious particulars of the company sending out bricks or stones to erect the fortifications; yet by the accounts, he was sorry to find, as well as by the petition, that the stones or bricks were so rotten, that, instead of repairing the fortifications of Cape Coast castle, they were in so ruinous a condition, that they must be pulled down, and rebuilt from the very foundation.

Mr. *Gascoyne* spoke against the conduct of the African Company; and concluded that the grants of Parliament answered no one substantial purpose, but that of establishing a monopoly. The address was agreed to; and the petition ordered to lie upon the table.

January

*January 30.*

Decollation of Charles I.

*February 1.*No debate. Adjourned to *February 3.**February 3.*

No debate.

*February 4.*

The same.

*February 5.*

The same.

*February 6.*

A bill for enabling the commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain to grant commissions or letters of marque to the commanders of private ships and vessels, to take and make prize of all ships or vessels, and their cargoes, belonging to, or possessed by, any of the inhabitants of the colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the three lower counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, for a time to be limited, was this day read a third time, passed, and carried to the Lords.

There were no debates on this bill, in any stage of its passing.

Lord North got up and said, that having a matter of some importance to communicate to the House, he could wish their attention for a few minutes;—it was upon business which ought not to come detailed before so thin a House, but there would be several stages of the business which would give opportunity for ample discussion:—the thing was this;—there have been, during the present war in America, many prisoners made, who were in actual commission of [the crime of] high treason; and there are persons, at present, guilty of that crime, who may be taken, but perhaps for want of evidence cannot be kept in gaol. That it has been customary upon similar occasions of rebellion, or danger of invasion from abroad, to enable the King to seize suspected persons; he would not be thought to hint at any necessity of trusting ministers at present with such a power in general; indeed the times are different; we are very far from having any rebellion at home; and as to an invasion, we have not the least prospect of it;—for these reasons, it is not meant to ask the full power, usual upon former occasions of rebellion. But as the law stands, they were well informed, that it is not possible at

present officially to apprehend the most suspected person. Another circumstance is, the persons made prisoners from the rebels, and also in the act of piracy on the high seas; at present, they can be legally confined only to the common gaols, which would be entirely impracticable. It is necessary for the Crown to have a power of confining them like other prisoners of war. These and some other matters should be attended to in the bill he purposed moving, which was this:

“ That leave be given to bring in a bill, to enable his Majesty to secure and detain persons charged with, or suspected of the crime of high treason committed in America, or on the high seas, or the crime of piracy.”

Leave was given accordingly.

This day Lord *North* presented to the House the following convention between his Majesty and the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel:

Translation of a convention between his Majesty and the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel; concluded and signed at Cassel the 11th day of December 1776.

HIS Britannic Majesty having desired that the corps of Hessian chasseurs now in his service in America, should be augmented, his minister plenipotentiary, Colonel William Faucitt, and the Baron Martin Ernest de Schlieffen, Minister of State, and Lieutenant General of his Most Serene Highness the reigning Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, furnished with the full powers of their respective masters, have agreed to what follows:

1. The corps of chasseurs, including those already in America, shall be augmented to 1067 men, instead of 260 men, of which it at present consists; in the room of two companies of which it is now composed, six shall be formed, five of which shall serve on foot, and one on horseback, on the footing of hussars. His Majesty shall cause them to be provided with horses and forage. His Most Serene Highness shall equip them with every thing necessary besides, for the service on horseback.

2. The pay of the chasseurs, as well foot as horse, shall be higher than that which his Majesty allows to the Hessian infantry, in the same proportion as it was during the last war.

3. The said pay for the new augmentation shall commence from the day of the signature of this convention; but as the number of men stipulated is not yet entirely collected, the deficiency



deficiency shall not be paid for but in proportion as the men shall be enlisted according to the returns, which shall be made with the utmost exactness, and duly certified.

4. This augmentation shall be composed only of experienced chasseurs, all well-trained marksmen; and if it is not possible to find the number demanded, of these skilful marksmen, his Majesty will content himself with a less number, rather than accept of men not having the dexterity requisite; and although it is impossible to fix exactly the time in which this augmentation may be entirely completed, seeing that Hesse alone has not so many of these chasseurs by profession, and that they must be engaged in the neighbouring countries, it is promised that all that is possible shall be done, in order to assemble them in a very short time, and to cause them to march without delay for their destination.

5. Every thing that has lately been agreed upon in the treaty of the 15th of January in the present year, with respect to the corps of Hessian troops in general, now in his Majesty's service, shall extend to this new augmentation of the corps of chasseurs; the subsidy shall be proportionably augmented: thirty crowns *banco* per head, levy-money, shall be paid for the companies of foot, and forty-five crowns *banco* per head shall be paid for the troop of horse, as their equipage is a great deal more expensive.

6. This convention shall be ratified by the high contracting parties, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged as soon as possible.

In testimony whereof, we, the undersigned, being furnished with the full powers of his Majesty the King of Great Britain, on the one part, and his Most Serene Highness the reigning Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, on the other part, have signed the present convention, and have caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Cassel, this 11th of December, in the year 1776.

WILLIAM FAUCITT.

MARTIN ERNEST de  
SCHLIEFFEN.

Establishment of the whole corps of chasseurs,

S T A F F.

1 Colonel.

1 Lieutenant Colonel.

1 Major.

L 3

1 Adjutant

- 1 Adjutant.
- 1 Auditor.
- 1 Quarter-master Major.
- 1 Surgeon-major.
- 2 Armourer and his assistant.
- 1 Farrier.
- 1 Assistant saddler.
- 1 Waggon-master
- 1 Servant for the waggon with the military chest.
- 1 Servant for the waggon with the medicine chest.
- 2 Provost and his servant.

### 13 Total of the staff.

#### One Troop of Horse.

- 2 Captain and his servant.
- 4 Lieutenants and their servants.
- 4 Second Lieutenants and their servants.
- 2 Sergeants.
- 2 Quarter-masters.
- 10 Corporals.
- 1 Surgeon.
- 3 Trumpeters.
- 150 Chasseurs.
- 1 Servant for the ammunition carriage.

### 179 Total of 1 troop of horse.

#### One Company of Foot.

- 2 Captain and his servant.
- 2 Lieutenant and his servant.
- 2 Second Lieutenant and his servant.
- 2 Sergeants.
- 1 Fourier.
- 1 Master of arms.
- 10 Corporals.
- 1 Surgeon.
- 3 French horns.
- 150 Chasseurs.
- 1 Servant for the ammunition carriage.

### 175 Total of one company of foot.

Carried over 175

Bro. over 175	Total of one company of foot.
700	———— of four others.
179	———— of one troop of horse.
13	———— of the staff.
<hr/>	
1067	Total of the whole corps of chaffeurs.

## N O T E.

Of this corps there is now already in America,

- 2 Captains.
- 2 Lieutenants.
- 4 Second Lieutenants.
- 1 Quarter-master Major.
- 24 Non-commissioned officers.
- 2 Surgeons.
- 6 French horns.
- 210 Chaffeurs.
- 1 Servant for the waggon with the military chest.
- 2 Servants for the ammunition carriages.
- 8 Officers servants.

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262 Total of the corps now in America.

Therefore the new augmentation consists of.

- 1 Colonel and Captain.
- 1 Lieutenant-colonel and Captain.
- 1 Major and Captain.
- 1 Adjutant.
- 1 Captain.
- 5 Lieutenants.
- 3 Second Lieutenants.
- 1 Auditor.
- 1 Surgeon Major.
- 60 Non-commissioned officers.
- 4 Surgeons.
- 3 Trumpeters.
- 9 French horns.
- 690 Chaffeurs.
- 2 Armourer and his assistant.
- 1 Farrier.

---

784

L 4

Carried over 784

Bro. over 784

- 1 Assistant saddler.
- 1 Waggon-master.
- 1 Servant for the waggon, with the medicine chest.
- 4 Servants with the ammunition carriages.
- 12 Officers servants.
- 2 Provosts and their servants.

805 Total of the new augmentation.  
Total 1067 heads.

February 7.

Lord George Germaine presented to the House the following bill:

*A bill to empower his Majesty to secure and detain persons charged with, or suspected of, the crime of high treason committed in North America, or on high seas, or the crime of piracy.*

“Whereas a rebellion and war have been openly and traitorously levied and carried on in certain of his Majesty’s colonies and plantations in America, and acts of treason and piracy have been committed upon the ships and goods of his Majesty’s subjects; and many persons have been seized and taken, who are expressly charged or strongly suspected of such treasons and felonies, and many more such persons may be hereafter so seized and taken:

“And whereas such persons have been or may be brought into this kingdom, and into other parts of his Majesty’s dominions; and it may be inconvenient in many such cases to proceed forthwith to the trial of such criminals, and at the same time of evil example to suffer them to go at large:

“Be it therefore enacted by the King’s most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that all and every person or persons, who have been or shall hereafter be seized or taken in the act of high treason, committed in any of the colonies, or on the high seas, or in the act of piracy, or who are or shall be charged with, or suspected of the said crimes, and who have been or shall be committed for the said crimes, or either of them, or for suspicion of them, or either of them, in any part of his Majesty’s dominions, to the common gaol, or any other place of confinement specially appointed for that purpose, by warrant under his Majesty’s

jeſty's ſign manual, by any magiſtrate having competent authority in that behalf (who is hereby authorized to commit ſuch perſons to the place ſo to be appointed); all and every ſuch perſon and perſons ſhall and may be thereupon ſecured and detained in ſafe cuſtody without bail or mainprize, until the  
and that  
no judge or juſtice of peace ſhall bail or try any ſuch perſon or perſons, without order from his Maſteſty's moſt honourable Privy Council, ſigned by  
of the ſaid Privy Council, until the ſaid  
any law, ſtatute, or uſage, to the contrary in any wiſe notwithstanding.

“ And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that this act ſhall continue and be in force until the ſaid  
and no longer.”

*John Johnſtone*, eſq. ſaid, that he thought the power of calling out the militia of the kingdom, without the conſent of Parliament, and the immense armament we have on foot, both by land and ſea, ſufficient to answer every end of government, in bringing back the Americans to their allegiance, without the dangerous, and at this time inexpedient meaſure, of attacking the grand Palladium of the Britiſh conſtitution, the freedom of men's perſons; and he conſidered it as the laſt rigorous ſtep effectually to prevent all poſſibility of a reconciliation between the colonies and the mother-country.

The queſtion however was put for the ſecond reading, and the Speaker declared the ayes had it; but it was replied, the noes had it; when Mr. Dunning aroſe, and prevented a diviſion, by moving that a bill of ſuch importance ſhould be printed, and the ſecond reading put off to the 10th; which was agreed to.

Adjourned to February the 10th.

*February 10.*

A petition\* of the governors, bailiffs, and commonalty of the company of conſervators of the Great Level of the Fens, and of the ſeveral perſons whoſe names are thereunto ſubſcribed, owners of free lands within the Middle and South Levels, part of the ſaid Great Level, was preſented to the Houſe, and read; ſetting forth, that the

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\* Though it is not uſual to inſert in this work the petitions of private perſons, for enclosing, &c. yet the matter of this petition (though partly local) is of ſuch a magnitude, as to make it a public concern.

Great

Great Level of the Fens, called Bedford Level, is a part of that great plain which extends into, and is bounded by, the counties of Northampton, Norfolk, Suffolk, Lincoln, Cambridge, and Huntingdon, containing upwards of 300,000 acres; and that the rain and spring waters that fall on and issue out of the greatest part of the above counties, and also from parts of the counties of Buckingham, Hertford, and Essex, together with the downfall on the plain itself, having their course through the same to the outfalls into the sea at Lynn and Wisbich, did for ages overflow and drown the same, insomuch that no advantage redounded therefrom to mankind, but river fish, water fowl, and reeds; and that Francis earl of Bedford, after many fruitless attempts by others, actuated by principles of public spirit, did, in the sixth year of king Charles the First, undertake the great and public work of draining the same, as appears by a law of sewers made at a sessions of sewers held on the thirteenth day of January in that year, at King's Lynn in Norfolk; and that, by the said law, the earl and his adventurers were to receive from the proprietors 95,000 acres, being nearly a third part of the whole, for draining the same, of which 95,000 acres, when drained, 55,000 acres to be adjudged to the earl and his adventurers, as a consideration for having drained the whole, and the residue thereof, being 40,000 acres, were to remain as a fund, from the annual profits of which the works for draining were to be supported and maintained; and that the said earl and his adventurers made a good progress therein, with expense of great and vast sums of money, and so far proceeded as that the greatest part of the said 95,000 acres was divided by twenty lots and shares amongst the said Francis earl of Bedford and his adventurers, and their assigns, and 40,000 acres, part of the said 95,000 acres, set out and specifically allowed for the maintenance and preservation of the works; and that, by reason of some interruptions, the works by them made being fallen into decay, so that the intended benefit to the public had been in a great measure prevented, in 1649, William earl of Bedford, his son, and the adventurers, applied to the then Parliament sitting at Westminster, who, by an act of that year, setting forth, "that the said Great Level, by reason of frequent overflowing of the rivers Welland, Nene, Grant, Ouse, Brandon, Mildenhall, and Stoke, have been of small and uncertain profit, but (if drained) may be improved and made profitable, and of great advantage to the commonwealth,

wealth, and to the particular owners, commoners, and inhabitants, and be fit to bear coleseed and rapeseed in great abundance, which is of singular use to make soap and oils within this nation, to the advancement of the trade of clothing and spinning of wool, and much of it will be improved into good pasture for feeding and breeding of cattle, and for tillage to be sown with corn and grain, and for hemp and flax in great quantity, by making all sorts of linen cloth and cordage for shipping within this nation, which will increase manufactures, commerce, and trading, at home and abroad, will relieve the poor by setting them on work, and will many other ways redound to the great advantage and strengthening of the nation," thereby gave such powers to the earl of Bedford and his participants, as were necessary for completing and continuing the said work on the plan of the law of sewers, made at King's Lynn, in the sixth year of his late Majesty king Charles the First, excepting that, by the said act, instead of 40,000 acres being specifically allotted for the maintenance of the works, the whole 95,000 acres were made liable to a tax for the said purpose; and that from the time the land in the said Great Level was adjudged to the adventurers, the said 95,000 acres, liable to a perpetual tax for draining, have been called or known by the name of Adventure Land, and the remainder, being double that quantity, and not liable to be taxed for the general works of draining, called the Free Lands; and that both the said Adventure Lands and Free Lands are equally liable to be overflowed, lying intermixed, and nearly on the same level; and that, by none of the laws of sewers, or acts of parliament herein stated, hath any tax or toll been laid on the navigation through the said Great Level, for any damage done to the great river banks or other works by horses haling thereon, by means whereof the navigation is in general carried on; and that, by an act passed in the 15th year of king Charles the Second, intituled, An act for settling the draining of the Great Level of the Fens, called Bedford Level, in part stating the law of sewers made at King's Lynn, in the 6th year of Charles the First, as also the act of 1649, and that William earl of Bedford, son and heir of earl Francis, with divers of his adventurers and participants, had proceeded in the completing and finishing of the said works, but that the same could not be preserved without constant care, great charge, and orderly government; it was therefore (amongst other things) enacted, that the said William earl of Bedford, and the

the adventurers and participants of the said earl Francis and earl William, their heirs and assigns, should be a body politic and corporate in deed and name, and have succession for ever, by the name of the governor, bailiffs, and commonalty of the company of conservators of the Great Level of the Fens; and the governor, bailiffs, and conservators of the said corporation, were thereby empowered to lay taxes on the 95,000 acres (12,000 acres whereof had been designed and intended for his late majesty king Charles the First, and had been set forth and allotted by bounds in fealty) for the support, maintenance, and preservation of the said Great Level, and to levy the same with penalties for non-payment, and do all other things in order to the support, maintenance, and preservation of the said Great Level, and works made, and to be made, in such manner as therein is mentioned; and the said governor, bailiffs, and conservators, were thereby enabled and empowered to use and exercise the power and authority of commissioners of sewers within the said Great Level of the Fens, and of the works made, or to be made, without the said Great Level, for conveying the waters of the said Great Level by convenient outfalls to the sea; and the said corporation was thereby empowered, from time to time, to erect new works, within or without the said Great Level, for conveying the waters thereof by convenient outfalls to the sea; and that, by another act made in the 20th year of the said king, intituled, An act for the taxing and assessing of the lands of the adventurers within the Great Level of the Fens, it was enacted, that 83,000 acres, parcel of the said 95,000 acres, should, from time to time, be taxed and assessed by a gradual acre tax of different sorts and values of land; and to the end that the said 83,000 acres might be more equally taxed by a gradual acre tax, certain persons in the said act named were appointed surveyors and valuers of the said 83,000 acres, and were within a time limited by the said act to digest the said 83,000 acres, into a number of sorts and degrees not under the number of seven sorts and degrees, and to rate and tax such degrees, and digest the same into schedules in writing, and make returns thereof upon their oaths into the Fen-Office, in such manner as by the said act was prescribed; and the said 12,000 acres, residue of the said 95,000 acres, were to be rated and taxed by a medium of the tax at which the said 83,000 acres were taxed; and that, in pursuance of the said act, the said 83,000 acres were valued and set out into eleven sorts or degrees of land, to be rated and taxed in manner



manner following, that is to say, for a single tax four-pence per acre on the first sort of land, eight-pence per acre on the second sort, and so increasing four-pence upon every sort, the eleventh sort to be taxed at 3s. 8d. per acre, which valuations were returned into the Fen-Office, as by the said last-mentioned act was directed, and the said 83,000 acres have always since been taxed by a gradual acre tax, according to the degrees and proportions thereby set out and allotted, and the said 12,000 acres at a medium of such tax; and that, at a court of the said corporation, held the 10th day of March 1697, the said corporation declared, that the said Great Level should be distinguished by the several names of the North Level, Middle Level, and South Level; and that all that part of the said 95,000 acres that lies on the north side of Moreton's Leame, and south side of Welland's River, should be accounted that part of the 95,000 acres lying within the North Level; and all that part of the said 95,000 acres that lies on the north side of Old Bedford River, and the south side of Moreton's Leame, was that part of the 95,000 acres belonging to the Middle Level; and that all that part of the said 95,000 acres that lies on the south side of Old Bedford River, was that part of the said 95,000 acres belonging to the South Level; and that, by an act passed in the twenty-seventh year of his late majesty King George the Second, intituled, An act for discharging the corporation of the governor, bailiffs, and commonalty of the company of conservators of the Great Level of the Fens, commonly called Bedford Level, from a debt due to the Duke of Bedford and Earl of Lincoln; and for enabling the proprietors of lands in the North Level, part of the said Great Level, to raise money to discharge the proportion of the said North Level in the debts of the said corporation, and for ascertaining and appropriating the taxes to be laid on the said North Level, and for the more effectual draining and preserving the said North Level, and divers lands adjoining thereto, in the manor of Crowland; it was (amongst other things) enacted, that the said North Level, and the revenues thereof, should be freed and discharged from all debts then owing by the said corporation (except the sum of 1800l. for the raising of which, provision was made by the said act); and that the said North Level, or the revenues thereof, should not be liable to the payment of any debts which should at any time thereafter be contracted, or borrowed, by the said corporation, for or on account of the said Middle and South Levels, or either of them; and that the said Middle and South

South Levels, or either of them, or the revenues thereof, should not be liable to the payment of any debt borrowed by the said corporation, for or upon account of the said North Level; and that, under the said acts, and the powers thereby given, the governor, bailiffs, and conservators, have laid out great sums of money, arising from taxes imposed on, and raised by, the owners of adventure lands; and that, in the progress of such taxation, some of the adventure lands have been so high taxed, in proportion to their values, that the owners have, at times, abandoned the same, thinking it more for their interest to give up all property therein, than to retain the same by payment of the taxes; insomuch that nearly one sixth part of the whole hath been, at different times, abandoned, and no taxes paid for the same, to the great loss of the adventurers; and that, from this cause, the decrease of the value of money, the increase of the value of labour, and materials necessary for carrying on and supporting their works, and from other causes, they have been obliged, for the maintenance and support of the works of draining, besides the taxes so expended, to contract a considerable debt; and that, from the late improvements in agriculture in the inland counties, and those which surround the Great Level, the downfall is conveyed to the several brooks in the high lands, which communicate with the rivers; and that, by the great number of new turnpike roads in the said counties, and the amendments of the highways in general, great quantities of water are conveyed into the rivers, the greatest part of which waters before stagnated where they fell, and were partly carried off by the sun and winds, and partly soaked into the earth, but are now conveyed, and have their course through the Great Level to the sea; and that the commerce on the rivers running through the Great Level is of late years greatly increased; and that the burden of the barges and lighters navigating through the same, as also the horses haling the said barges and lighters, are increased in their number and size; by means whereof, the banks on which they hale, containing upwards of one hundred miles in length, are trod down, and greatly damaged, for which no compensation is, or ever hath been made for more than a century, to the governor, bailiffs, and conservators; and that number of large engines, or mills, have, within the last thirty years, been erected for throwing the waters of the fens into the rivers, which throwing great quantities of the moor which comes into the mill drains dissolved by the water, as well as the said water, into

the rivers, hath occasioned the beds of the said rivers to grow up, and hath much decreased the depth of the same; and that there have, within these few years, been made two new navigations, one from Thrapston to Northampton, by widening and deepening the Nene, the other from Biggleswade into the Ouse, through the river Ivel; and by means of the said navigations, the floods are greater in quantity, more rapid in their progress to the Great Level, and raise the waters therein to a greater height than was formerly known; and that, from the causes above stated, and others, the works already made are now insufficient for carrying the waters through and off the Great Level; and that the same is continually liable to be overflowed, and the great river banks in general want deepening, repairing, heightening, and strengthening, and will, from time to time, require great sums for the continuing them in a proper state to preserve the Great Level from being overflowed, as also to furnish proper halting ways for the navigators through the said rivers, and other considerable works are still wanting for the preservation of the same; and that the petitioners apprehend, that the loss of the great river banks, and in consequence the loss of the whole level, will be attended, in a great measure, with the loss of the navigation through the same, from the ports of King's Lynn and Wisbich, into Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Norfolk, and Suffolk, insomuch that the expense of carrying on the same, after such melancholy event shall have happened, will, from the hazard and difficulty thereof, raise the price of goods and merchandise carried into the inland counties to a much greater height than any toll that may be now laid for the preservation of the same can do, and also be attended with a total loss of all their great and important national objects, particularized in the preamble above set forth to the act of 1649, many of which are the great sources of commerce to those who at present carry on the said navigation; for that, when the said banks are destroyed, all the halting ways will be lost, and the water flowing at large over the whole Level, will cause the beds of the rivers, for want of a proper scower, in a great measure to grow up; and, not being restrained, take from the ports of Lynn and Wisbich that back water, by the restraint of which within its banks, and the velocity thereby given it, these several harbours are kept open and preserved to the degree they at present are; and that, if all the works of the said Great Level should be  
suffered

suffered to go to a total decay, four times the sum which will now preserve it, will scarcely be sufficient to recover the same; and that the petitioners, having exerted every means in their power for the preservation of the said Level, and finding it impossible to proceed therein, did publicly advertise a meeting of the country at Ely, to take into consideration the distressed state of the said Levels, arising from the causes and facts herein by the petitioners stated; and that, in consequence thereof, a meeting was held at the Shire-Hall, in Ely, the 3d day of November 1774; and several subsequent meetings have been since had, pursuant to public advertisements, as well at the Fen-Office in the Inner Temple, London, as at the Shire-Hall in Ely aforesaid, for that purpose; and it hath, at such meetings, been deemed expedient and necessary that application should be made to Parliament, for imposing a temporary tax, to be continued for seven years, on the free lands within the said Middle and South Levels; and also for a further tax, for the like time, on such parts of the said 95,000 acres of adventurers lands as lie within the said Middle and South Levels; and likewise for imposing and collecting tolls, or tonnage, on goods which shall be navigated in the said Levels, in order, by those means, to raise necessary additional funds, as well for preserving and improving the drainage, as the navigations of the said Levels; and therefore praying, that leave may be given to bring in a bill, for preserving the drainage of the Middle and South Levels, and the several navigations through the same; and for imposing taxes on the lands within the said Levels, and laying tolls on goods conveyed by the said navigations, in order to raise further necessary funds for that purpose."

Order of the day; the second reading of the bill to empower his Majesty to secure and detain persons charged with, or suspected of, the crime of high treason, committed in America, or on the high seas, or the crime of piracy.

*John Johnstone, esq.* said, this measure would increase the animosity between the two countries of Great Britain and America. The confinements, commitments, massacres, and the whole train of consequences which would arise from such a system of punishment, revenge, and retaliation, probably on both sides of the Atlantic, he said, filled his mind with horror and anxiety: add to this, the total suspension of all the great functions of the constitution, seemingly *pro tempore*, and for particular purposes; but which, by the same influence,

ence, might be extended to any duration, and directed to any purpose, gave a complexion to the whole, of the most dark, despotic, arbitrary, cruel, and diabolical colour. By the present bill, no man, he contended, would be exempt, however innocent, peaceable, dutiful, and loyal, from being sacrificed at the shrine of the bloody ministerial mandate; whether in America or Britain, it was all the same; whether guilty, or not guilty, he lay not only at the mercy of his private enemies, but of every tool in office, from the highest to the lowest. The wide circuit of the human mind was not more various and extensive than man's suspicions, nor more numerous than the motives which provoke him to public oppression and private ill. Bad, however, as the bill was, and big with mischief, he would rest contented in some measure, if ministers would pledge themselves for the due performance of what the title and preamble of the bill seemed obviously to import.

Mr. *Dunning* said, he would not take up the time of the House in debating the bill upon legal grounds; for where there was no reason or justice, there could be no law. Law supposes a rule, which, while it prescribes a mode of conduct, respecting either the public or individuals, defines the offence, annexes the punishment, and, besides, specially provides and directs all the intermediate steps between the charge and conviction, but more particularly the measure and quantity of the punishment. What does this bill say? No crime is imputable, no examination of innocence or criminality is to follow. The punishment is inflicted, in the first instance, on the ground of mere suspicion. A man may be suspected; any man may be suspected; but his guilt or innocence is entirely out of the question; no inquiry whatever is to be made into either, as long as the present bill continues in force.

He confessed there were times, in which it had been found extremely necessary to suspend the *habeas corpus* act; such, in particular, were the two late most unnatural and unprovoked rebellions in Scotland: but then there was a necessity stated. That necessity was not denied; it was, indeed, notorious: but would any man say, that was the case at present? Is there a rebellion within the kingdom? Is there a Pretender claiming the crown as his legal and constitutional inheritance; and that at the expense of both our civil and religious rights—the very essence, as well as the form of our constitution? No such thing: the idea is ridiculous. Are

we, on the other hand, afraid that the people of America will pass the Atlantic on a bridge, and come over and conquer us! and that their partisans lie in ambush about Brentford or Colnbrook? That, it may be presumed, will be hardly contended, even in the present rage for assertion without proof, and conclusion without argument. No; this bill, I plainly perceive, has been manufactured for other purposes. It can be stretched, and twined, and twisted, by the ingenuity of my worthy and learned friend over the way (Mr. Attorney General), or by some of his brethren, equally ingenious, to affect and reach men who never saw America, or, peradventure, the high seas, as strongly, at least as efficaciously, for the mere temporary purposes of persecution and revenge, as if they had been caught in arms—in open rebellion. If even ministers had contented themselves with this first ebullition of their fiery, irresistible zeal for persecution, the public might look on, with a mixture of contempt and astonishment, at the insolence and folly of the attempt; but when they go a step farther, and venture to couple it with a power untried hitherto in the annals of this country, a power, including in it the most bloody species of proscription, I confess I begin to feel sentiments of a very different nature. What does the clause say? After empowering the apprehension, on the mere grounds of suspicion, and directing the commitment to any common gaol, within his Majesty's dominions, are not we next told, or to any other place of confinement, specially appointed for that purpose, by warrant under his Majesty's sign manual, by any magistrate; having competent authority in that behalf? (who is hereby authorized to commit such persons to the place so to be appointed.) Is not this evidently a power, not only to punish the innocent, but to inflict such pains upon them as an honest mind must revolt at, and contemplate with horror? The magistrate may take up and commit, on suspicion, to the common gaol, and by the sign manual, to any other place especially appointed; and is further authorized to commit according to such special appointment. What is this but to authorize the mode, measure, and place of confinement, at the pleasure of the minister, which, besides, manifestly includes in it the power of temporary banishment, as well as confinement, to any part, or to the most remote, unhealthy, and pestiferous climate, within the wide circuit of his Majesty's dominions, in the four quarters of the globe? If this be the intention of my honourable and learned friend over the way, and his no less honour-

honourable employers, in God's name, let him speak out; let us know, let the public know, what they are to expect. Let him and his friends no longer amuse us with a formal circumstantial story of America and the high seas, or of the crime of piracy; such tales may be amusing to some people, and they may answer certain purposes out of doors, and in some particular places: but to talk of them seriously within these walls, will not, I believe, be attempted. The power endeavoured to be vested in the crown by this bill, is most evidently a dictatorial power, or similar to that exercised by the Roman dictators. We all know the motives for granting such a power. It will hardly be contended, that any such motives exist at present. We all know the frequent abuse of it, and the horrid purposes towards the latter period of the commonwealth, to which it was employed; and I presume there is not a schoolboy of three years standing, who is ignorant that that mighty republic was overthrown by a dictator. Such will always be the case, when powers are granted through ignorance, wantonness, and design. If the present bill was to have no other evil effect than establishing a precedent for future ministers to come to Parliament on the same errand, I should be against it: but when I behold it in the light I do, I must deem it a most formidable, dangerous, and, I fear, fatal attack upon the liberty of this country. It seems directed at its very vitals, and, in my opinion, threatens its total destruction, if not a dissolution of the constitution. Before I conclude, I must observe, if any thing were wanting to shew the true complexion of this bill, the words *high seas* and *piracy* will fully explain it; these words apply to the seas contiguous to Great Britain and Ireland. It is, indeed, plainly perceivable, whatever the title of the bill may be, it is not an American; so much as it is a British suspension of the *habeas corpus* act. It may overtake any man, any where. It authorizes a discretionary punishment, without a colour of legal proof, or even a probable ground of suspicion. It makes no distinction between the dreams of a sick man, the ravings of a demoniac, and the malice of a secret or declared enemy. No man is exempt from punishment, because innocence is no longer a protection. It will generate spies, informers, and false accusers beyond number; and furnish the means of gratification, emolument, and satiety, to the most profligate of the species; while it will let loose with impunity, the blackest and most horrid vices which disgrace the human mind. In fine, it will realize what has hitherto been

looked upon to be the creature of poetic fiction ; it will scatter over the land more ills and curses than were ever supposed to flow from Pandora's box. Justice will be bound, as well as blind ; and it will be in the power of every revengeful minister, or mercenary villain, to satiate his revenge, or fill his pockets, at the expense of the best, and most virtuous, men in the commonwealth.

The Attorney General (Mr. *Thurlow*) said, nothing more was meant by the bill, than to apprehend, commit, and confine persons actually charged, or suspected of committing, the crime of high treason in America, or on the high seas, or for piracy. It was absurd and preposterous to the last degree, he said, to suppose it was framed intentionally to reach or overtake persons presumed to be disaffected to this government, within this realm. He was certain the kingdom contained no such description of men. Treason and rebellion were properly and peculiarly the native growth of America. If government feared any such disposition in the people of this country, their application would have been fair, open, and direct : they would have come to Parliament, and desired an immediate suspension of the *habeas corpus* act, in so many words ; they would have accompanied such a request with their motives, and have stated the grounds of necessity. But the present bill was framed totally on another plan : it was meant to prevent mischief, not with a view to rigorous punishments, much less to persecutions. No innocent man had any thing to fear, the guilty man had every thing ; and whatever harsh epithets gentlemen, who disapproved of the bill, might think proper to bestow on it, he should, for his part, always think, that that was the mildest, wisest and most lenient government, which directed its attention to devise modes of prevention, instead of endeavouring to deter by rigorous and sanguinary punishments.

He observed, that his honourable and learned friend over the way (Mr. *Dunning*) founded his prime objection on a supposition that the bill might be construed to extend to persons who had committed crimes within the realm. This was an objection, he solemnly believed, of the first impression. Be that as it might, this was not the proper stage of the bill to debate that question ; supposing that the bill were to operate precisely as his learned friend had stated it, he could not see even a colourable pretext for finding fault with it. Imagining the King's death, his justice's, his treasurer's, &c. was high treason ; so was levying war within the realm, or appearing



pearing in arms against the sovereign, or adhering to, or corresponding with his enemies: now, if it should appear, or be discovered, that any person in this country had assisted the rebels with arms, or warlike stores of any kind, or that they had been assisted by his subjects, in any part of his dominions, with money, or implements of war, &c. he could not pretend to say, how far such an assistance, or adherence, might be construed to come within the description of high treason, as laid down by the 25th of Edward the Third. He again repeated, that the committee was the proper place to come to the explanations so earnestly pressed by his learned friend; he should, therefore, be for the second reading of the bill, and trust for the perfect formation of the bill to that stage.

Mr. Fox said, that the present bill served as a kind of key, or index, to the design that ministers had been some years manifestly forming, the objects of which they rendered visible from time to time, as opportunity served, as circumstances proved favourable, or as protection increased, and power strengthened. It resembled, he said, the first scene in the fifth act, when some important transaction, or circumstance, affecting the chief personages in the drama, comes to be revealed, and points directly to the *denouement*. This plan had been long visible, and, however covertly hid, or artfully held back out of sight, was uniformly adopted, and steadily pursued: it was nothing less than robbing America of her franchises, as a previous step to the introduction of the same system of government into this country; and, in fine, of spreading arbitrary dominion over all the territories belonging to the British crown. He contended, that nothing but the most inevitable necessity could justify the present measure; such a concurrence of circumstances, as happened at the Revolution, when the people of England were compelled to embrace the alternative of submitting passively to the will of a base, perjured tyrant, or of trusting to the dangerous experiment of appointing a dictator to preside over them, in the person of the prince of Orange, till a new constitutional establishment could be formed, and legally recognised.

This perilous state of things was but of short duration; it was running, to be sure, a great risk; but then, it was to preserve the liberty of this country from eternal destruction.—He dwelt a considerable time on the invaluable advantages derived from the *habeas corpus* act, which he called the

great *Palladium* of the liberties of the subject; expressing at the same time, his astonishment, in the boldest and most animated terms, at the insolence and temerity of ministers, who could thus dare to snatch it from the people, by a mandate manufactured by themselves, though sanctioned by the sign manual: and not only attempt to deprive the object of their envy, resentment, or fears, of his liberty, but send him out of Great Britain, to the most distant and remote part of the British dominions.—Says he, who knows but the ministers, in the fulness of their malice, may take it into their heads, that I have served on Long Island, under General Washington? What would it avail me, in such an event, to plead an *alibi*; to assure my old friends, that I was, during the whole of the autumn American campaign, in England; that I was never in America, nor on any other sea but between Dover and Calais; and that all my acts of piracy were committed on the mute creation? All this may be very true, says a minister, or a minister's understrapper; you are for the present suspected, that is sufficient. I know you are fond of Scotland; this is not the time for proofs; you may be and very probably are innocent, what of that? this bill cares not a fig whether you are guilty or innocent. I will send you, under this sign manual, to study the Erse language in the isle of Bute; and as soon as the operation of the bill is spent, you will be at liberty to return whither you please; and then you may, if you like, call on your accusers, to prove their charges of treason in America, on the high seas, and for piracy; but they will laugh in your face, and tell you they never charged you, they only suspected you; and the Act of Parliament will serve as a complete plea in bar; it will answer a double end; it will be at once your redress and our justification.—O, but says the learned gentleman, it is not possible to tell how far constructive treason may extend; or whether it may not reach such as have aided and abetted the American rebels, by sending them arms and ammunition, by corresponding with them, &c. It is, it seems, lucky for me, that I have no connexion in America; if I had, thought they could not so decently suspect me of being on Long Island in August last, when they knew the contrary, they might say, that I held a treasonable or a piratical correspondence with them. Suppose for instance, an old schoolfellow, or intimate companion, I should most probably have kept up a correspondence; and when writing to him, would have told him, “that Whigs, and those that were friends to the

Revolution, were now looked upon as factious persons, for these are the times that large strides are taken, not only to destroy the liberties of America, but of this country likewise." Would not such a paragraph as this furnish a good ground for suspicion? But weakness, crueky, suspicion, and credulity, are almost always inseparable, at least they are often found in the same company. Ministers are credulous in the extreme, because they are fearful; and they are fearful from a consciousness of their crimes. Suspicions, however ill founded upon tales however improbable, are received by them as facts not to be controverted; witness the information of Richardson against Sayre, some time since; and the recent affair of John the Painter, relative to the improbable story of his setting fire to the rope-house at Portsmouth. I am not surpris'd at any thing. The tone of the minister is become firm, loud, and decisive. He has already assured us, in this House, that he has nearly subdued America; and by what we are able to collect from this bill, we may presume he means to extend his conquests nearer home.

*Lord North.* I am extremely sorry to have the misfortune to be misquoted, or grossly misunderstood; by the honourable gentleman over the way. I never said that I had nearly subdued America, or that America was nearly subdued. What I said, and what I again repeat, was, that, under God, his Majesty's arms had met with many signal successes, and that I thought we were in a fair way of subduing America, not that we had nearly subdued it. The honourable gentleman who spoke last, and the learned gentleman who spoke early in the debate, seem to lay great stress on the improper power vested in the magistrate respecting the commitment under the sign manual. For my part, I see no new power vested in the magistrate; the warrant under the sign manual will be his authority: that warrant will be legalized by the present bill: so that I think the magistrate will stand precisely as he did before. He could before commit to the common gaol; now he is obliged to commit, ministerially, to the place specially appointed for the reception of such offenders: so that, if any alteration be made in the power of commitment, as residing in the magistrate, it is by abridging, not by extending it. Before the passing the act, he could commit to any prison; now he is bound specifically to obey the terms of the warrant. Before he could admit persons, charged on suspicion of treason, to bail; now, neither judge, nor

any inferior magistrate, can, without order from his Majesty's most honourable privy council, admit any person to bail so charged or suspected.

The honourable gentleman charges his Majesty's servants with blind, ill-founded credulity, relative to the affair of Richardson and Sayre. For my part, I beg leave to think very differently on the subject. I should deem the secretary of state, who committed Sayre, extremely neglectful, if not criminal in his conduct, had he not attended to Richardson's information, and proceeded in the affair as he did. Gentlemen will, when they find a convenience in it, argue and decide on facts from events, and the doctrine of probabilities; but I will venture to contend, that many plots, which have come to maturity, and have been productive of the greatest and most fatal mischiefs, have been laid open in their infancy, and such early discoveries treated as matters unworthy of credit or attention. It is likewise certain, that conspiracies, equally important and consequential in their nature, have been defeated in their early stages, upon a discovery of circumstances and details much more trifling than those respecting the information of Richardson, or the suspicious conduct of John the Painter; for though the latter was apprehended for a burglary, I am still inclined to believe, that, whatever his motives may have been, his conduct has fully justified the steps that have been taken towards a thorough discovery of this very mysterious affair. The opposers of this bill seem extremely desirous to learn its intended duration. I mean to fill up the blank by the words the thirty-first day of December next, or to the first day of the next session of Parliament, which will answer precisely the same end; for in all probability the Parliament will meet before Christmas; and if it should not be found necessary to continue it, the law will consequently cease.

Colonel *Barré* called upon administration to defend the principle of the bill in that stage, and not send it to a committee by the mere power of numbers, unsupported by reason, justice, or policy. He said this bill would fully and completely accomplish what the other hasty, ill-advised, intemperate measures had begun, and in part effected. He was certain, violent, unrelenting, and implacable as they were, the present measure was the worst of all, and would be productive of massacre and retaliation, if not of more alarming consequences nearer home. America, he contended, must be reclaimed, not conquered or subdued. Conciliation or concession

concession are the only sure means of either gaining or retaining America. The conquest of that country is doubtful; though it were subdued, the holding of it without the affection and good-will of the natives, would be impossible. To make America valuable, and to ensure its possession, was therefore, in the Colonel's opinion, only to be effected by the most lenient and tender measures.

Governor *Johnstone* said, he would repeat what he told administration a thousand times before; that America was not to be reclaimed by the harsh decrees which originated within those walls; nor yet by the mere power of Great Britain. He said, the admiral and general sent to America were likely to effect more by their personal characters, and amiable manners, than a thousand bloody edicts issued by that House. The Americans, he said, had the spirit of Britons. They might be led, but he was satisfied they would never submit to be drove. The Governor then commented on the polite and gentleman-like behaviour of General Howe, adverted to his messages and letters to General Washington, and to many other circumstances, which reflected the highest honour, he said, on Mr. Howe's conduct, both as a soldier and a gentleman. He then turned to the bill, and foretold, that it would be productive of one or both of these consequences; it would raise a discontent, jealousy, and dislike of government at home, though none of the powers delegated by the bill were ever meant to be exercised, or carried into execution; or it would widen the breach so much between Great Britain and her colonies, that it would be utterly impossible ever again to close it. The bill was unnecessary, if it was not framed for latent purposes, which, while it was depending, it would not be prudent to avow, lest it should prove fatal to it; for if the bill meant, what ostensibly it imported, an apprehension, commitment, and confinement, for offences committed, or suspected to have been committed, in America, it was to all intents and purposes nugatory and absurd; because the statute of treasons, as explained by the learned member over the way [Mr. Attorney General], would answer every thing promised or proposed by the present bill. If so, why then pass a bill, which empowers the minister, or administration, to lay every person in the kingdom by the heels, when they may think proper?

The question was put; 195 for the bill, and 43 against it. Ordered to be committed on the 13th.

*February*

February 11.

No debate.

February 12.

No debate.

February 13.

Lord Barrington presented the following papers:

An account of the distribution of 970,000*l.* part of the sum of 1,000,000*l.* granted to his Majesty, to defray any extraordinary expenses, incurred, or to be incurred, on account of military services for the year 1776.

Dates of

Warrants.

£. s. d.      £. s. d.

Feb. 19. 1776.	To Thomas Harley and Hen. Drummond, Esqrs. to be by them applied and invested in the purchasing of Spanish and Portugal coins, for the use and service of his Majesty's forces in North America	20000	0	0		
	Ditto for ditto	20000	0	0		
Mar. 11.	Ditto for ditto	20000	0	0		
	Ditto for ditto	20000	0	0		
15.	Ditto for ditto	20000	0	0		
18.	Ditto for ditto	60000	0	0		
27.	Ditto for ditto	50000	0	0		
April 26.	Ditto for ditto	12000	0	0		
30.	Ditto for ditto	31220	18	11		
June 7.	Ditto for ditto	10804	0	0		
17.	Ditto for ditto	150000	0	0		
	Ditto for ditto	50000	0	0		
	Ditto for ditto	17194	18	6		
July 17.	Ditto for ditto	53982	13	9		
Aug. 17.	Ditto for ditto	15000	0	0		
Sept. 25.	Ditto for ditto	50000	0	0		
Nov. 18.	Ditto for ditto	16623	11	4		
	Ditto for ditto	13282	15	11		
	Ditto for ditto	11865	0	0		
		<hr/>				
		749973 18 5				
May 31.	To Messrs. William James, Abel Smith, William Baynes, and Richard Atkinson, Esqrs. for pro-					

Carried over 742973 18 5

A. 1777

## DEBATES.

173

Dates of  
Warrants.

		Brought over			L. s. d.		
		743973 18 5					
		visions delivered into his Majesty's stores at Corke, for the use of the forces serving in America			18335 0 0		
1776.							
Aug. 1.	Ditto for ditto				14594 6 10		
15.	Do. for do.				26871 4 4		
Sept. 25.	Do. for do.				31412 8 4		
	Do. for do.				21605 12 2		
Nov. 21.	Do. for do.				21905 12 2		
					<hr/> 126424 3 10		
May 15.	To John Henniker, Edward Wheeler, William Devaynes, and George Wombwell, Esqrs. for provisions delivered into his Majesty's stores at Corke, for the use of the troops serving under General Sir William Howe, in America				13719 12 9		
	Do. for do.				3054 0 6		
June 28.	Do. for do.				15226 10 5		
July 11.	Do. for do.				7019 17 11		
Aug. 1.	Do. for do.				29489 2 10		
Sept. 26.	Do. for do.				24140 16 5		
Oct. 16.	Do. in part of a warrant for £4686l. 3s. 1d. for ditto service				951 16 11		
					<hr/> 93601 17 9		
War-Office, 13 Feb. 1777.					<hr/> 970600 0 0		
BARRINGTON.							

An account of extraordinary services incurred and paid by the Right Hon. Richard Rigby, paymaster-general of his Majesty's forces, between the 31st of January 1776, and the 1st of February 1777, and not provided for by Parliament.

Dates of  
Warrants.

Jan. 16. To Thomas Harley and  
1777. Hen. Drummond, Esqrs.  
to be by them applied and

invested

*Dates of  
Warrants.*

£. s. d.      £. s. d.

invested in the purchasing  
of Spanish and Portugal  
coins for the use and ser-  
vice of his Majesty's forces  
in North America

20000 0 0

Jan. 29. Do. for do.

30000 0 0

---

50000 0 0

1776.

Oct. 16. To John Henniker, Ed-  
ward Wheeler, William  
Devaynes, and George  
Wombwell, Esqrs. in  
full of a warrant for  
14683l. 3s. 1d. for pro-  
visions delivered into his  
Majesty's store-houses at  
Corke, for the use of the  
troops serving under Ge-  
neral Sir William Howe,  
in America

13734 6 2

Do. for do.

3573 17 1

Nov. 21. Do. for do.

1772 17 5

May 15. To John Amyand, Esq. for  
provisions delivered into  
his Majesty's store-houses  
at Corke, for the use of  
the forces serving under  
Gen. Sir William Howe,  
in America

3151 15 6

July 11. Do. for do.

4233 10 7

Aug. 1. Do. for do.

8464 17 11½

Sept. 25. Do. for do.

10650 4 11

Nov. 12. Do. for do.

2686 5 8

June 26. To John Durand, Esq. for  
provisions delivered into  
his Majesty's store-houses  
at Corke, for the use of  
the forces serving under  
Gen. Sir William Howe,  
in America

3537 6 3

July 11. Do. for do.

3694 5 7½

Carried over

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55499 7 2½ 50000 0 0



A. 1777.

## D E B A T E S.

177

<i>Dates of Warrants.</i>		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
	Brought over	55499	7	2½	50000	0	0
July 11. Do. for do.		274	4	4			
1776.							
Aug. 1. Do. for do.		3656	4	6½			
Sept. 25. Do. for do.		11396	8	1			
Nov. 21. Do. for do.		5679	2	9			
June 28.	To Robert Mayne, Esq. for provisions delivered into his Majesty's stores at Corke, for the use of the forces serving under General Sir William Howe, in America						
		3807	8	4			
July 11. Do. for do.		3968	9	11½			
Aug. 1. Do. for do.		4684	10	3½			
	Do. for do.	3656	4	6½			
	Do. for do.	3656	4	6			
	Do. for do.	3341	8	1½			
	Do. for do.	314	16	5			
Sept. 25. Do. for do.		4684	10	3			
	Do. for do.	1371	16	8			
	Do. for do.	379	3	4			
	Do. for do.	680	4	6			
June 28.	To Anthony Bacon, Esq. for provisions delivered into his Majesty's store-houses at Corke, for the use of the forces serving in America, under General Sir William Howe						
		3537	6	1			
	Do. for do.	274	4	4½			
July 11. Do. for do.		3694	5	7½			
	Do. for do.	3656	4	6½			
Sept. 25. Do. for do.		11580	3	1			
Nov. 21. Do. for do.		7649	14	2			
Apr. 26.	To Arnold Nesbit, Adam Drummond, and Moses Franks, Esqrs. for provisions exported from Corke to America, for the use of the troops serving there under General Sir William Howe						
		16905	19	7½			
	Carried over	154348	1	4	50000	0	0

Dates of Warrants.		Brought over	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
			154348	1	4	50000	0	0
April 26.	Do. for do.		16807	16	1			
1776.	Do. for do.		7312	7	1			
May 15.	Do. for do.		11542	11	8			
	Do. for do.		5026	14	5½			
	Do. for do.		3732	15	3			
	Do. for do.		3007	6	11½			
June 26.	Do. for do. delivered into his Majesty's stores at Corke, for the use of ditto		9408	14	0			
July 11.	Do. for do.		47026	9	8			
Sept. 25.	Do. for do.		8791	16	11			
	Do. for do.		20087	1	5			
Nov. 1.	Do. for do.		12113	5	1			
Feb. 6.	To Arnold Nesbit, Adam Drummond, and Moses Franks, Esqrs. for victualling his Majesty's forces in the province of Massachusetts Bay, between 25 August 1776, and 24 October following		3985	12	11			
22.	Do. for victualling the forces and other persons within the garrisons of Quebec and Montreal between the 25 June 1776, and 24 October following		2286	18	5			
Mar. 14.	Ditto for victualling the forces within the province of Massachusetts Bay, between 25 October, and 24 December 1775		7069	12	7½			
Dec. 6.	Do. for provisions delivered from the magazines at Montreal, between 14 October, and 10 November 1775		804	6	8			
Jan. 16.	Do. for victualling the forces in the province of Massachusetts Bay, be-							

Carried over

314351 10 6½ 50000 0 0

A. 1777.

## DEBATES.

179

Dates of  
Warrants.

Brought over

£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
314351	19	6½	50000	0	0

tween 25 December 1775,

1776. and 23 February 1776

10987 2 5

Jan. 16. Do. for victualling do. in  
do. between 24 Feb. and  
24 March 1776

6172 14 5

Do. for victualling the gar-  
rison of Quebec, between  
25 Oct. 1775, and 24  
June 1776

9833 17 4

Do. for provisions deposited  
in the Illinois country, be-  
tween 21 Dec. 1774, and  
20 Dec. 1775

1877 2 11

Do. for do. delivered to the  
commissary of stores and  
provisions for the use of  
the forces in North Ame-  
rica

988 7 11

29. Do. for do. delivered at Ha-  
lifax, for the use of the  
forces there

5123 7 8

Do. for do.

221 7 9

Do. for victualling some of  
the forces being prisoners  
among the rebels, in the  
provinces of Pennsylvania  
and New Jersey, from 19  
Nov. 1774, to 29 Oct.  
1776

4523 2 6

Feb. 22. To Richard Vernon Sadler,  
Esq. for provisions issued  
to the forces at Halifax in  
Nova Scotia, between 21  
Aug. 1775, and 10 Dec.  
following

1939 19 9

May 3. Do. upon account, and by  
way of further advance  
in consideration of his ex-  
traordinary disbursements  
on account of his con-  
tract for victualling 500

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Carried over 355118 13 2½ 50000 0 0

<i>Dates of Warrants.</i>	<i>Brought over</i>	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
	men at Halifax in the colony of Nova Scotia	355	118	13	2½	50000	0 0
June 28. 1776.	To Richard Vernon Sadlier, Esq. for provisions issued to the forces at Halifax, in Nova Scotia, between 11 Dec. 1775, and 28 April 1776, inclusive	1500	0	0			
Sept. 25.	Do. for provisions issued to do. at do. between 29 April and 23 June 1776	2104	13	0			
Nov. 21. 1777.	Do. for provisions issued to do. at do. between 24 June, and 16 Sept. 1776	545	5	4			
Jan. 16.	Do. for provisions issued to do. at do. between Sept. and 11 Nov. 1776	1372	2	0			
Feb. 10.	To John Stephenfon, Esq. for victualling the forces at Placentia, between 1 Oct. 1774, and 2 Sept. 1775, inclusive	774	16	8			
	Do. for provisions shipped from Halifax, for the use of the troops at Boston	398	2	6			
	Do. for provisions issued to the troops and train of artillery at Newfoundland, from 1 Oct. 1774, to 30 Sept. 1775	1410	1	6			
April 18.	Do. for victualling the forces in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, between 1 Oct. 1775, and 24 Jan. 1776, inclusive	683	0	6			
Aug. 1.	Do. for provisions issued to the forces at Halifax, between 16 Jan. and 8 May 1776	658	13	0			
23.	Do. upon account, and by way of advance, in consideration of his extraor-	1913	17	11			

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Carried over 366479 5 7½ 50000 0 0

A. 1777.

## DEBATES.

181

<i>Dates of Warrants</i>		Brought over	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
		dinary disbursements, on account of his contract for victualling 1500 men in Nova Scotia	366479	5	7½	50000	0	0
Sept. 25.	To do. on account of do.		10000	0	0			
Jan. 16.	To do. for provisions delivered to the troops at Halifax, between 4 June and 9 Sept. 1776 inclusive		4000	0	0			
1777.	To do. for provisions issued to the troops at do. between 9 Sept. and 5 November 1776		2797	4	6			
	To do. for provisions issued to the troops at Placentia and St. John's, between 3 Sept. 1775 and 25 Nov. 1776		2553	9	0			
1776.	To Christopher Bethell, Esq. executor to Edw. Codrington, Esq. for persons victualled, provisions condemned and issued, and losses in West Florida		554	17	11			
Feb. 19.	To John Stevenson and John Blackburn, Esqrs. for provisions issued to the forces in Pensacola, between 25 June and 24 August 1775		5854	7	5			
June 26.	To do. for victualling the forces in West Florida, between 25 Aug. and 24 Oct. 1775		811	18	8			
28.	To do. for victualling the forces in West Florida, between 25 Oct. 1775 and 23 Feb. 1776, for provisions supplied T. Lorimer, hospital surgeon,		806	5	10			

Vol. V.

Carried over

N

393857 8 11½ 50000 0 0

<i>Dates of Warrants.</i>		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
	Brought over	3938	57	8 11½	5000	0	0
	between 25 Dec. 1774, and 24 Dec. 1775, and for provisions condemned	1868	19	9			
Aug. 1.	To do. for provisions issued to the forces in West Florida, between 1st April 1775, and 24 Apr. 1776, and for provisions condemned by long keeping	1213	14	3			
1777. Jan. 16.	To do. for provisions issued to the forces in do. between 25 Apr. and 24 June 1776, and for provisions damaged by long keeping	1761	6	4			
1776. Apr. 3.	To Witter Cuming and Kender Mason, Esqrs. for provisions issued to the forces in St. Augustine, between 25 April and 25 Oct. 1775, for provisions issued to the out-ports dependant on that garrison, from 5 May to 21 Oct. 1775, and for provisions issued to the out-ports dependant on New Providence, between 22d Sept. 1774, and 24 Feb. 1775	1791	18	9½			
Oct. 16.	To ditto for provisions issued to the forces in the garrison of St. Augustine, between 25 Oct. 1775, and 23 Feb. 1776, and for provisions condemned	1012	8	5			
1777. Jan. 29.	To Messrs. Mason and Jones for provisions issued to the forces in the garrison of St. Augustine, between 25 June and 24 October 1776, and for provisions issued to the out-ports dependant on that garrison for the same time	3350	16	9			
	Carried over	4048	56	13 2½	50000	0	0

1777.

## DEBATES.

183

Dates of  
Warrants.

Brought over

£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
4048	56	13	2½	50000	0 0

Towards the expense of provisions delivered to 34 battalions of foot in North America, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland, &c. apply the sum voted upon estimate, 1776, for that service

43131 16 3

Also, the sum stopped for provisions delivered to the said battalion, between 25 June 1775, and 24 June 1776

29546 8 6

---

 72678 4 9

332178 8 5½

1776.  
April 3.

To Messrs. Mure, Son, and Atkinson, in full satisfaction for freight and charges incurred on sundry ships freighted by them to attend the expedition under earl Cornwallis

2088 9 5

18.

To Jn. Dickson for freight of sundry ships freighted by him and dispatched to Canada

805 7 0

July 4.

To Richard Atkinson, for the freight, armament, provisions, for soldiers of sundry ships, freighted, armed, and dispatched with provisions for the forces in North America

3296 9 3

To do. for freight of sundry ships dispatched with provisions to attend the expedition under the command of earl Cornwallis

1442 3 6

Carried over

N 2

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 7632 9 2 382178 8 5½

<i>Dates of Warrants.</i>		<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
	Brought over	7632	9	2	382178	8	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
18.	To ditto for two months advanced freight of sundry ships freighted to carry provisions for the use of the forces in America	10798	7	6			
	To ditto for two months advanced do. for do.	6609	19	4			
	To do. for two months advanced do. for do.	7103	5	0			
Aug. 2.	To Messrs. Mure, Son, and Atkinson, for two months advanced do. for do.	9905	16	5			
	To do. for two months advanced do. for do.	3741	5	0			
	To do. for two months advanced do. for do.	4784	3	9			
17.	To John Greeve, master of the ship Emerson, for the freight of the said ship chartered to bring home invalids from America	165	17	0			
Oct. 19.	To Messrs. Mure, Son, and Atkinson, for the freight of sundry ships hired and armed to transport provisions to America for the use of the forces there	14667	2	8			
	To do. for the freight of sundry do. freighted to carry oats to America for the use of the forces there	3544	19	4			
	To do. for advanced freight of sundry do. freighted to carry stores, camp-equipage, and clothing for the use of the forces there	6558	14	4			
	To do. for freight of do. freighted to carry provisions to Quebec	936	19	0			
	Carried over	76448	18	6	382178	8	5 $\frac{3}{4}$



A. 1777.

## D E B A T E S.

185

*Dates of  
Warrants.*

Brought over

£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
76448	18	6	382178	8	5½

To do. for freight of sundry do. freight by them to attend the expedition under the command of earl Cornwallis

1442 3 6

1777.

Jan. 22.

To do. for freight of sundry do. employed in carrying provisions to America for the use of the troops there

26314 17 6

To do. for do. service

10159 4 9

To do. for freight of sundry do. to carry oats to do.

8055 4 4

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 122420 8 7

1776.

April 3.

To Messrs. Mure, Son, and Atkinson, in full satisfaction and discharge of the like sum due to them for sundry stores shipped for Corke and America on the expedition under the command of earl Cornwallis

4183 6 6

Oct. 29. To ditto for sundry stores shipped for the use of the forces in Canada

26919 15 0

Dec. 12. To do. for sundry stores shipped by them for the service of the army in North America

9559 10 10

To do. for coals, four crout, clothing, and sundry other stores shipped for the service of do. in do.

8574 1 9

May 1. To Richard Atkinson, Esq. for iron ware shipped for Canada

807 6 9

31. To do. for provisions supplied to recruits on their passage to America, by order of the lords of the treasury.

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 8488 5 0

Carried over

N 3

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 58532 5 10 504598 17 0½

<i>Dates of Warrants.</i>		<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
	Brought over	585	32	5	504	59	8
Dec. 10.	To do. for oats shipped for the service of the forces in North America	326	47	18	6		
	To do. for sundry stores sent to North America for the service of do.	64	78	14	10		
	To do. for do. service	628	9	10	0		
					1039	48	9 2
Apr. 8.	To Henry Callender, in full satisfaction for sundry stores consigned to the quarter-master-general of the forces in Canada	312	6	3	1		
	To Thomas Burchett in full satisfaction for the expense of accommodation and provisions for 54 soldiers embarked on board the ship British Queen for Canada	294	2	3			
	To John Dalston for stores shipped for Canada for the use of the army there	134	7	5	1		
					476	7	10 5
Dec. 12.	To John Dalston for barrack furniture and sundry other stores shipped for the service of the forces in North America	49	38	0	10		
	To do. for do. service	192	22	12	3		
	To John Dickson for ditto service	147	96	18	5		
	To do. for do. service	576	1	3	4		
					274	18	14 10
Apr. 18.	To John Williams for the expenses of arming sundry ships dispatched to Canada	115	9	16	4		
July 4.	To Edward Johnson for cannon, gunpowder, wa-						
	Carried over	115	9	16	4	640	733 11 5

A. 1777.

## D E B A T E S:

187

*Dates of  
Warrants.*

		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
	Brought over	1159	16	4	640733	11	5½
	ter casks, and bedding, shipped at Corke for the armament of ships em- ployed in carrying pro- visions to America, and for the accommodation of soldiers therein	9298	16	9			
July 4.	To John Dalston for the cost and outfit of six armed vessels, dispatched to Canada	13856	1	10			
Aug 2.	To Edward Johnston for cannon and gunpowder supplied for the armament of ships employed in car- rying provisions to Ame- rica	6689	11	7			
	To Roderick Mackenzie for the armament of sundry ships to carry provisions to America, and for fur- nishing provisions for sol- diers taken on board the said ships	5325	15	2			
Oct. 29.	To Messrs. Mure, Son, and Atkinson, for the arma- ment of several ships em- ployed to carry provi- sions from Corke, for the use of the forces in Ame- rica, and for provisions for soldiers on board the said ships	5019	14	9			
	To do. for cannon, gunpow- der, and water casks ship- ped for Corke, to be there applied for the armament of ships employed in car- rying provisions to Ame- rica, and to the accommo- dation of soldiers therein	5901	18	8	47251	15	1

Carried over  
N 4

687985 6 6½

*Dates of  
Warrants.*

Brought over

£. s. d. £. s. d.  
687985 6 6½

May 1. To John Dickson for the  
loss of the ship Swift,  
burnt at sea, and for the  
cargo and outfit of the  
ship Elizabeth, dispatch-  
ed to Canada in her room

5415 1 4

Aug. 17. To Messrs Wooldridge and  
Kelly, towards satisfying  
them for the value of the  
cargo of the ship Molly  
detained in Virginia

3000 0 0

Dec. 12. To Messrs. Dunlop and  
Wilson, for the hire and  
value of the sloop Ed-  
ward, taken by the rebels,  
and for the hire of the  
sloop Fincastle, impressed  
into his Majesty's service  
To Messrs. Eilbeck, Cham-  
bre, Rofs, and Co. for  
the hire of the ship Dun-  
more, impressed into his  
Majesty's service at Vir-  
ginia, from 22 August

928 18 1

1777. 1775 to 15 June 1776  
Jan 17. To Peter Perchard, mer-  
chant, for the hire of the  
snow Friends, employed  
in the King's service,  
from 17 Nov. 1775 to  
4 Nov. 1776

2121 15 2

To Messrs. Cope and Big-  
nell for sundry stores  
supplied from the ship  
Levant, in Virginia, for  
the service of that colony

1327 18 9½

111 13 6

1776. To Alexan. Watson, mer-  
chant, for the use of Na-  
thaniel Wraxhall, for rice  
destroyed at Savannah, in

12905 6 10½

Carried over

700890 13 5½

A. 1777.

# DEBATES.

189

Dates of  
Warrants.

£. s. d. £. s. d.  
700890 13 5½

Brought over  
Georgia, by order of Cap-  
tain Barkley and Major  
Grant

869 15 6

To Messrs. Cowper and  
Telfair, merchants, for  
the value, commission,  
insurance, and brokerage  
of a quantity of rice de-  
stroyed at do. by order of  
ditto

1868 1 0

Aug. 7. To John Rae, merchant,  
for the value, freight, &c.  
of 95½ barrels of rice  
shipped at Savannah, in  
Georgia, for the use of  
the forces in North Ame-  
rica

486 6 6

8. To Alexander Watson,  
merchant, for the use of  
John Alexander, master  
and owner of the brigan-  
tine Christian, for the  
freight of 375 barrels of  
rice destroyed at do. or  
taken from thence for the  
use of the forces in do.

295 9 0

17. To John Nutt, merchant,  
for 165 barrels of rice  
shipped at do. for the use  
of the forces in do.

822 0 0

To Sir James Wright, Bart.  
for the value and freight  
of 532½ half barrels of  
rice shipped for the service  
of the forces in do. or de-  
stroyed at do.

2564 8 6

1777. To Messrs. Graham, John-  
son, and Co. for the va-  
lue, freight, and other  
charges of 25 barrels of

Carried over

6906 0 6 700890 13 5½

Dates of  
Warrants.

		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
	Brought over	6906	0	6	700890	13	54
	rice taken in do. for the use of the troops	130	0	2			
	To the executors of Benjamin Stead, merchant, in full for the value, freight, and all other charges of 69 barrels of rice taken in do. for the use of the troops	346	19	6	7383	0	2
1776.	To John Langhorn, in full						
Apr. 18.	satisfaction for horses provided by him for service in North America	9987	12	0			
Aug. 2.	To Richard Atkinson, Esq. for 247 horses received from several regiments of dragoons, and shipped for North America	4149	12	0			
17.	To Messrs. Langhorn and Ibbetson, for the expense of keeping horses till shipped off, sundry necessaries shipped with them, and for 62 horses purchased for the service of the army in America	8283	1	7	22420	5	7
Apr. 3.	To Messrs. Walter Humphrys and Henry Darby, merchants, in full satisfaction for the like sum due to them for 3000 pair of blankets provided for the service of the army in America	1784	16	0			
May 1.	To George Field, for blankets delivered to the agents of sundry regiments by						
	Carried over	1784	16	0	730693	19	24

A. 1777.

## D E B A T E S.

191

<i>Dates of Warrants.</i>		<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
	Brought over	1784	16	0	730693	19	2½
	order of the lords commissioners of the treasury	9721	15	4			
June 1.	To Thomas Harley, Esq. for fundry blankets and watch coats provided by him for the use of the army in North America	6400	5	11			
Oct. 29.	To Messrs. Mure, Son, and Atkinson, for blankets supplied for the regiments of Waldeck, and for shoes and stockings supplied to the first division of the Brunswick troops, on their embarkation at Portsmouth.	634	4	0	18541	1	3
1777.	19. To Richard Atkinson, Esq. for rum delivered in America, for the use of the forces there	27164	4	4			
Jan. 22.	To do. for do. service	6616	6	4			
1776.	To Sir James Cockburn, Bart. for 40,296 gallons of Grenada rum delivered for the use of the forces on service in America	8059	4	0			
Dec. 18.	To James Bogle French, Esq. for 48,680 gallons of rum delivered for the use of ditto forces	9736	0	0			
1777.	To John Blackburn, Esq. for 22,973 gallons of rum delivered for the use of ditto forces	3445	10	0			
Jan. 16.	To Thomas Burfoot, Esq. to be applied in the purchasing a quantity of rum for the use of do. forces	3000	0	0			
23.	To do. for do. service	980	2	9	59001	7	5
	Carried over				808236	7	10½

Dates of  
Warrants

Brought over

£. s. d.

£. s. d.  
808236 7 10½

1776. To Anthony Merry, Esq.

March 1. by way of imprest, and upon account of monies advanced by him in purchasing, fitting out, and arming a vessel to be employed in the service of supplying the forces in North America with provisions, and in purchasing sundry articles of provisions for the said service

5000 0 0

May 31. To do. by way of imprest, and upon account of monies advanced by him for the cost and freight of cattle, sheep, and hogs, sent to America for the service of the army there

4000 0 0

June 21. To do. in full satisfaction and discharge of all claims and demands whatsoever, for the outfit and cargoes of sundry ships addressed to General Sir William Howe, at Halifax, in Nova Scotia

7561 11 1

16561 10 0

Jan. 29. To George Charlton, for expenses incurred for the embarkation, &c. of the troops at Corke, in the months of Aug. and Oct.

1775

325 5 0

April 16. To ditto for expenses incurred by him for do. at do. in the month of December 1775, and in the

Carried over

325 5 0 824797 18 10½



A. 1777.

## D E B A T E S.

193

*Dates of  
Warrants.*

Brought over

£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
325	5	0	824797	18	10½

months of Jan. Feb. and  
March, 1776

226 14 7

1776.  
Aug. 7. To do. for expenses incur-  
red by him for do. at do.  
in the months of March  
and April 1776

308 4 0

930 3 7

March 7. To Col. Christie, by way  
of imprest, and upon ac-  
count for pay of the arti-  
ficers going out for the re-  
lief of Quebec

2000 0 0

April 22. To John Trotter, Esq. in  
full satisfaction of the like  
sum expended by him in  
providing hospitals, bed-  
ding, &c. for the use of  
the forces in North Ame-  
rica

4309 0 8

May 17. To do. for providing hos-  
pital tents, &c. for the  
use of the forces in do.

233 3 0

To do. for hospital bedding  
provided for do.

3734 14 5

Aug. 19. To do. for providing divers  
extra camp necessaries for  
the 1st battalion of Lieu-  
tenant Colonel Maclean's  
corps

61 2 1

To do. for providing do. for  
the 2d battalion of do.

61 2 1

To do. for providing do. for  
Lieut. Colonel Goreham's  
corps

39 18 5

To do. for providing do. for  
the detachment from the  
three regiments of foot  
guards

87 4 2

To do. for providing do. for  
the regiment of Waldeck  
foot

61 2 1

Carried over

8587 6 11 827728 2 5½

<i>Dates of Warrants.</i>		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
	Brought over	8587	6	11	8277	28	2 5½
Aug. 19. 1776.	To do. for providing do. for the foreign troops serving in America	1863	14	0			
	To do. for providing do. for the use of the forces in North America	87	4	2			
	To do. for do.	2333	15	0			
Dec. 20.	To do. for providing camp necessaries for the corps of infantry raised in North America, under the command of Lieut. Col. Goreham, and in providing tents, &c. for the officers of the said corps	332	7	0			
July 5.	To William Knox, Esq. for procuring proper presents for the Indians bordering on the colonies in North America	5000	0	0	13204	7	1
Sept. 29.	To do. for do.	6000	0	0			
Aug. 2.	To Messrs. Adair and Bullock, to be by them paid over to the wives and attornies of sundry artificers employed in Canada	278	13	6	11000	0	0
17.	To do. to be paid over to do.	228	13	6			
Dec. 4.	To do. to be paid over to do.	228	13	6			
Nov. 13.	To Philip Deare, in full, for clothing, arms, and accoutrements, provided by him for the corps of Royal Highland Emigrants, pursuant to contract	4606	5	9	736	0	6
19.	To Thomas Harley, Esq. for clothing provided for						
	Carried over	4606	5	9	852668	10	0

A. 1777.

## D E B A T E S.

195

Dates of  
Warrants.

Brought over

£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
4606	5	9	852668	10	0½

a corps of men raised by  
Francis Legge, Esq. go-  
vernor of Nova Scotia

3405 6 11

1776. Nov. 21. To do. for do. provided for  
the corps of Royal High-  
land Emigrants, com-  
manded by Lieutenant-  
Colonel Maclean

1982 16 6

9994 9 2

Aug. 15. To Thomas Hutchins, to-  
wards reimbursing him  
money advanced for car-  
rying on public works  
at Pensacola, in West  
Florida

300 0 0

Nov. 1. To do. to reimburse do. for  
do.

650 0 0

Jan. 17. To do. in full for money  
due to him for do.

2800 1 4½

3750 1 4½

1776. Oct. 23. To the pay of sundry ge-  
neral and staff officers in  
North America

11511 6 8

April 3. To bills of exchange drawn  
by Sir Guy Carleton, for  
public serv. 150 0 0

Nov. 26. To do. for do. 9432 19 6

9582 19 6

April 3. To bills of exchange drawn  
by Hector Theophilus  
Cramahe, Esq. for pub-  
lic serv. 13194 15 9

Nov. 28. To do. for do. 110 0 0

14024 15 9

April 3. To bills of exchange drawn  
by Guy Johnson, Esq.  
for do.

4430 13 4

Nov. 26. To do. drawn by Francis  
Legge, Esq. for do.

2970 0 0

To do. drawn by John  
Wentworth, Esq. for do.

1000 0 0

Carried over	32008	8	7	877924	7	3
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<i>Dates of Warrants.</i>		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
	Brought over	3200	8	7	8779	24	7 3
Nov. 26. 1776.	To bills of exchangedrawn by the Earl of Dunmore for public services	25000	0	0			
	Do. drawn by William Tryon, Esq. for do.	4000	0	0			
	Do. drawn by John Thomas, Esq. for do.	987	0	0			
	Do. drawn by Philip Calbec, esq. for do.	820	2	4			
	Do. drawn by Lord William Campbell, for do.	434	14	9			
	Do. drawn by Hugh Lord, Esq. for do.	784	16	2½			
	Do. drawn by Robert Gordon, Esq. for do.	5600	0	0			
	Do. drawn by William Faucitt, Esq. for do.	24835	1	6			
		<hr/>			94470	3	4½
May 2.	To Christopher Baldwin, Esq. to enable him to pay bills of exchange, drawn by Governor Martin, for public exigencies of the government of North Carolina	546	9	4			
Nov. 13.	To Launcelot Hilton, to satisfy a bill of exchange drawn by Capt. Hugh Lord, commandant at the Illinois, for contingent disbursements at Fort Gage	94	16	4			
1777.							
Jan. 17.	To Messrs. Graham, Johnson, and Co. to satisfy a bill of exchange drawn by George Baillie, Esq. upon John Campbell, Esq. late agent for the province of Georgia	467	10	8			
1776.		<hr/>			1108	16	4
Feb. 28.	To bills of exchange drawn by General Royd, Lieut.						
	Carried over	<hr/>			973503	6	11

A. 1777.

## D E B A T E S.

197

<i>Dates of Warrants</i>	<i>Brought over</i>	<i>£. s. d.</i>	<i>£. s. d.</i>
	Governor of Gibraltar,		973503 6 11½
1776. for do.	1191 3 9		
Aug. 17. Do. for do.	1187 16 3		
		2379 0 0	
April 3. Do. drawn by William Young, Esq. for do. at Tobago, &c.	9517 15 0		
Nov. 26. Do. for do.	9500 0 0		
		19017 15 0	
April 3. Do. drawn by Thomas Shirley, Esq. for public services	350 0 0		
Nov. 26. Do. for do.	2160 17 8		
		2510 17 8	
April 3. Do. drawn by Sir Basil Keith, for do.	1299 9 3		
Nov. 26. Do. for do.	1299 17 8		
		2599 6 11	
Do. drawn by Valentine Morris, Esq. for do.		4000 0 0	
Do. drawn by Lord Maccartney, for do.		1500 0 0	
		32006 19 7	
Feb. 6. To John Durand, Esq. for provisions shipped to the island of St. Vincent, and issued to the troops in Grenada		4507 4 1	
22. Do. for provisions shipped to the island of St. Vincent		3164 2 9	
April 26. Do. for provisions shipped to the islands of Tobago and Dominica		1101 18 9	
May 22. Do. for provisions shipped to the islands of Dominica and St. Vincent's, and issued within the island of Grenada		5329 16 9	
July 11. Do. for provisions issued within the island of Gre-			

Carried over

14103 2 4 1005510 6 6½

VOL. V.

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<i>Dates of Warrants.</i>	<i>Brought over</i>	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
	nada, between 1 Jan. and	14103	2	4	1005510	6	64
1776.	31 March 1776, included	1218	27	11			
Aug. 1.	Do. for do. shipped at Grenada, for the use of the forces at St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago, and for provisions condemned in Grenada	6209	27	8			
Nov. 12.	Do. for do. shipped from Grenada for the use of the forces in the islands of St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago; also for provisions issued in the said island of Grenada, to						
1777.	30 June 1776	5819	1	11			
Jan. 16.	To do. for provisions shipped to the island of St. Vincent, issued in the island of Grenada, between 1 July and 30 Sept. 1776.	5046	13	9			
		32409	13	7			
	Towards the expense of provisions delivered to the regiments in the ceded islands, apply the sum voted upon estimate 1776 for that service	17732	14	0			
1776.					14676	19	7
Feb. 6.	To Zachary Philip Fonnereau, Esq. and Sir Merrick Burrell, Bart. for victualling the forces in the garrison of Gibraltar, between 2 and 29 Oct. 1775	2553	15	7			
Mar. 11.	To do. for do. in do. between 30 Oct. 1775 and 24 Dec. following	5390	14	10			
Apr. 3.	To do. for do. between 25 Dec. 1775 and 21 Jan. 1776.	2615	12	8			
27.	To do. for do. between 22						

Carried over

10560 3 1 102018 6 11

A. 1777

## DEBATES.

1777

Dates of  
Warrants.

Brought over

£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
10560	3	1	1020187	6	13

1776.

Jan. and 18 Feb. 1776,  
both included

2609 14 11

June 20. To do. for do. between 19  
Feb. and 17 Mar. 1776,  
both included

2671 13 5

28. To do. for do. between 18  
March and 14 April  
1776, both included

2613 14 21

Aug. 1. To do. for do. between 15  
April and 12 May  
1776, both included

2630 17 5

To do. for do. between 13  
May and 9 June 1776,  
both included

2653 11 8f

Sept. 25. To do. for do. between 10  
June and 7 July 1776,  
both included

2639 15 5

Nov. 12. To do. for do. between 8  
July and 1 Sept. 1776,  
both included

4824 7 3

Dec. 20. To do. for do. between 2  
and 29 Sept. 1776, both  
included

2414 5 8

To do. for do. between 30  
Sept. and 27 Oct. 1776,  
both included

2422 9 2

To do. for insurance on  
provisions sent to do. be-  
tween 2 Oct. 1775 and  
29 Sept. 1776, both in-  
cluded

504 5 5

36544 17 8

Towards the expense of  
provisions delivered to  
the regiments at Gib-  
raltar, apply the sum  
voted upon estimate  
1776, for that service

24374 9 4

12170 8 4

Carried over

22357 14 58

*Dates of  
Warrants.*

Brought over

£. s. d.

£. s. d.

1032357 14 5½

Mar. 11. To Samuel Smith, Esq. for  
1776. victualling the forces in  
the province of Sene-  
gambia, between 1 Apr.  
1775, and 30 Sept. fol-  
lowing

772 8 6

May 22. To do. for do. between 1  
Oct. and 31 Dec. 1775,  
inclusive

1397 17 5

Aug. 1. To do. for do. between 1  
Jan. and 30 Mar. 1776,  
inclusive

1488 15 10

Nov. 1. To do. for do. at Senegal,  
between 1 April and 30  
June 1776, for victual-  
ling do. at Gambia, be-  
tween 22 Dec. 1775,  
and 27 April 1776, and  
for the agent victualler's  
salary at James's Fort,  
Gambia, from 1 July  
1775, to 30 June 1776

2232 12 5

5891 14 2

Towards the expense of  
provisions delivered to  
the corps in Africa, ap-  
ply the sum voted upon  
estimates 1776, for that  
service

2328 2 0½

1777.  
Jan. 16. To Thomas Harley, Esq. on account of  
provisions sent by him for the supply of  
the garrison in Minorca

3563 12 1½

1776.  
Apr. 3. To Anthony Bacon and Lewis Chauvet,  
Esq. for 40 negroes furnished and em-  
ployed by them in the island of Tobago,  
from 1 March to 1 July 1775; for  
40 do. employed in the said island, from  
30 June to 16 Aug. 1775; for 51 ne-  
groes in the island of Grenada, from 1

11000 0 0

Carried over

1046921 6 6½



A. 1777.

## D E B A T E S.

261

Dates of  
Warrants.

Brought over

£.	s.	d.
1046921	6	6½

July to 10 Aug. 1775, and for 154 negroes furnished and employed by them in the island of St. Vincent, from 1 July to 12 Aug. 1775, who have been supplied and victualled by them, and for travelling charges and duties paid on negroes

1051 10 8

1775.  
Aug. 4. To Col. William Faucitt,  
by way of imprest, and

£.	s.	d.
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1776. upon account

10000 0 0

Jan. 20. To do. by way of do.

10000 0 0

20000 0 0

Feb. 7. To John Campbell, Esq.  
for a bill of exchange  
drawn by him, as cashier  
of the royal bank of Scot-  
land

191 0 6

Mar. 15. To James Masterfon and  
John Inglis, Esq. for  
oatmeal, firing, candles,  
&c. furnished to the  
forces in the garrisons  
of fort William in Loch-  
aber, called Duart and  
fort Augustus, in the  
barracks of Bernera, In-  
versnoid, Corgast castle,  
and Bræmar castle, and  
in the garrison of fort  
George, from 1 Jan.  
1775, to 31 Dec. fol-  
lowing

2570 11 10

June 7. To the Duke of Argyll,  
for the like sum expended  
by him on divers occa-  
sions for the good of the  
service in North Britain

300 0 0

Nov. 29. To Humphry Bland Gar-  
diner and James Kempt,  
for necessaries furnished  
by them for the use of

Carried over

3061 12 4 1067972 17 2½

O 3

Dates of  
Warrants.

Brought over  
the forces in North Bri-  
tain in the year 1776

£. s. d. £. s. d.  
3061 12 4 1067972 17 02

3285 16 3

6297 8 7

1776.

July 3. To James Meyrick, jun.  
(executor of the late  
William Stukely), in  
full satisfaction of the  
like sum expended by  
him, in providing and  
repairing utensils, and  
for furnishing coals and  
candles for the use of the  
forces in the barracks at  
Portsmouth

157 8 7

Feb. 2. To Andrew Clinton, Esq.  
in full satisfaction of the  
like sum expended by  
him, in providing and  
repairing divers utensils,  
&c. for the use of the  
barracks in Plymouth  
Dock, from 25 Dec.  
1774, to 24 Dec. 1775

192 0 5

May 26. To do. to enable him to  
provide coals and candles  
for the use of the forces  
that are, or may be, in  
the barracks at Plymouth  
Dock

500 0 0

July 20. To do. for providing coals,  
candles, and sundry uten-  
sils, for the use of the  
troops in the citadel of  
Plymouth and St. Ni-  
cholas island, from Dec.

252 9 10

1777.  
Jan. 13. To do. for providing coals,  
candles, and sundry uten-  
sils, for do. in do. from  
25 June 1776, to 24  
Dec. following

214 7 4

Carried over

1158 17 7 1074427 14 42

*Dates of  
Warrants.*

Brought over

£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1158	17	7	1074427	14	4½

Jan. 20. To do. for providing and repairing divers utensils, &c. for the use of the barracks at Plymouth Dock, from 25 Dec. 1775, to 25 Dec. 1776, and for his salary, for providing and taking care of them for the said period

153 11 9

1312 9 4

1776.

Aug. 19. To John Powell, Esq. for his Majesty's proportion of coals landed and received at Gibraltar, between 3 May 1775, and 22 Feb. 1776, for the use of the garrison there, and for the additional expense of freight and insurance

2003 10 6

1777.

Jan. 13. To do. for do. received at ditto, between 16 July and 22 Nov. 1776, and for additional expenses, &c.

2466 3 6

1776.

Jan. 29. To Lieut. Gen. Elliott, for grass money for the 15th reg. of dragoons, in the summer 1775

495 17 0

Mar. 29. To Lord Robert Manners, for do. of the 3d reg. of dragoon guards, in the summer 1775

369 3 1½

May 16. To Lord Townshend, for do. for the 2d reg. of do. in the summer 1773  
Do. for do. in the summer 1774

126 5 0

126 5 0

Carried over

1117 10 1½ 1080209 17 8½

0 4

<i>Dates of Warrants.</i>		<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
	Brought over	1117	10	1½	1080209	17	8½
	Do. for do. in the summer 1775	126	5	0			
	To Lieut. Gen. Elliott, for extra feeding, &c. of the detachment of his reg. of dragoons in the year 1775	300	0	0			
Nov. 15.	To Sir George Howard, for grass money for the 7th reg. of do. in the summer 1776	412	18	3			
	To Major Gen. Johnstone, for do. of the 11th do. of do. in the summer 1776	266	19	0			
	To Gen. Mostyn, for do. of the 1st do. guards, in do. 1776	237	0	6			
	To Major Gen. Fitzroy, for do. of the 3d reg. of dragoons, in do. 1776	163	0	0			
Dec. 20.	To the Earl of Pembroke, for do. of the 1st do. in do. 1776	126	5	0			
	To Major Gen. Carpenter, for do. of the 4th do. in do. 1776	126	5	0			
	To Lord Robert Manners, for do. of the 3d reg. of do. guards, in do. 1776	179	12	7½			
	To Lieut. Gen. Harvey, for do. of the 6th reg. of dragoons, in ditto 1776	126	5	0			
1775.					3182	0	6
Oct. 27.	To Messrs. Cox and Mair, for the pay of 9 surgeons mates to the 50th reg. of foot, stationed at Jamaica, from 25 Dec. 1774, to 24 June 1775	277	0	8			
	Carried over	277	0	8	1083391	18	2

A. 1777.

## D E B A T E S.

205

<i>Dates of Warrants.</i>	<i>Brought over</i>	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Jan. 29. 1776.	To Lieut. Gen. Harvey, for his additional pay as adjutant-general, from 25 Dec. 1774, to 24 Dec. 1775	277	0	8	108339	18	2½
	To Col. Charles Grey, for his pay as aid de camp to the King, to 24 Dec. 1775	1460	0	0			
	To Sir Thomas Spencer Wilfon, for his pay as do. for 280 days, from 20 March 1775, to 24 Dec. following	200	0	0			
31.	To Robert Adair, Esq. for 365 days pay as inspector-general of the hospitals, to 24 December 1775	547	10	0			
	To Messrs. Powell and Cooke, for the pay of several supernumerary officers of the invalids, from 25 Dec. 1774, to 24 Dec. 1775	2167	14	0			
Feb. 17.	To Col. William Faucitt, for 92 days pay, as commissary in Germany, from 3 Nov. 1775, to 2 Feb. 1776, both inclusive	460	0	0			
Mar. 5.	To Lieut. Col. Townshend, for superintending the recruiting of the additional companies in Ireland	475	0	0			
15.	To William Bishop, for 365 days pay, as surgeon at Senegal, to 24 Dec. 1774	182	10	0			
	Carried over	5923	3	2	108339	18	2½

<i>Dates of Warrants.</i>	<i>Brought over</i>	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Mar. 20. 1776.	To John Fenton, Esq. for 213 days pay, as captain and commander of William and Mary castle, in the province of New Hampshire, from 7 June 1775, to 5 June 1776	5923	3	2	108339	18	2
April 3.	To Samuel Holland, Esq. 183 days pay, as surveyor-general of the province of Quebec, from 31 Oct. 1775, to 30 April 1776	213	0	0			
	To Col. Wrightson, in addition to his salary as major to Chelsea hospital	183	0	0			
16.	To Messrs. Ross and Gray, for the pay of 9 surgeons mates belonging to the 1st batt. of the 60th reg. of foot, stationed at Jamaica, from 25 June 1775, to 24 Dec. following	100	0	0			
May 2.	To Capt. Andrew Frazer, for 178 days pay, as commissary at Dunkirk, from 11 Oct. 1775, to 5 April 1776, both inclusive	278	10	6			
17.	To Lieut. Col. Townshend, for pay for 219 days, as superintendent of the recruiting service, from 20 May 1775, to 24 Dec. following, both inclusive	267	0	0			
22.	To Messrs. Cox and Mair, for the pay of 9 sur-	216	11	6			
	Carried over	7181	5	2	108339	18	2

1777.

# DEBATES.

207

Dates of  
Warrants.

Brought over

£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
7181	5	3	1083391	18	2½

geons mates to the 56th  
reg. of foot, stationed at  
Jamaica, from 25 June  
1775, to 24 Dec. fol-  
lowing

278 10 6

May 24. To Col. William Faucitt,  
for 90 days pay, as com-  
missary in Germany,  
from 3 Feb. 1776, to 2  
May following, both in-  
clusive

450 0 0

June 7. To Col. William Roy, for  
183 days pay, for super-  
intending stores sent to  
America

366 0 0

10. To Col. Charles Rainf-  
ord, for 39 days pay,  
as commissary for mus-  
tering and embarking a  
reg. of Hanau infantry,  
from 26 Feb. 1776, to  
4 April following

117 0 0

18. To Robert Gordon, Esq.  
for 90 days pay, as com-  
missary of provisions at  
Cork, from 21 Feb.  
1776, to 21 May fol-  
lowing

90 0 0

June 20. To Major Gen. Haviland,  
for 72 days pay, as in-  
specter-general of the  
forces in the West In-  
dia islands, from 14 Oct.  
1775, to 24 Dec. fol-  
lowing, both inclusive

180 0 0

To Major Gen. Evelyn,  
for his extra trouble and  
expense, in reviewing  
his Majesty's land forces  
in the year 1776

100 0 0

Carried over

8762 15 8 1083391 18 2½

I

*Dates of  
Warrants.*

Brought over

£. s. d. £. s. d.  
8762 15 8 108339 18 2

July 4. To John Fenton, Esq. for  
1776. 182 days pay, as cap-  
tain and commander of  
William and Mary cas-  
tle, in New Hampshire,  
from 6 Jan. 1776, to 5  
July following, both in-  
clusive

182 0 0

12. To Col. Charles Rain-  
ford, for 44 days pay, as  
commissary for muster-  
ing and embarking a  
corps of Hanau artillery,  
from 14 May 1776, to  
26 June following, both  
inclusive

132 0 0

Aug. 17. To Col. William Faucitt,  
for 92 days pay, as com-  
missary in Germany,  
from 3 May 1776, to  
2 Aug. following, both  
inclusive

460 0 0

19. To Lieut. John Cleve  
Playdell, for his care and  
trouble in assisting to  
complete a plan of North  
Britain, from 1 May  
1775, to 30 April 1776,  
both inclusive, being 366  
days

183 0 0

Sept. 16. To Lieut. Col. Towns-  
hend, for 183 days pay,  
as superintendant of the  
recruiting service, to 24  
June 1776

183 0 0

To ditto, for the pay of  
officers employed to assist  
in carrying on the re-  
cruiting service in Ire-  
land

260 10 0

Carried over

10163 5 8 108339 18 2



A. 1777.

## D E B A T E S.

209

Dates of  
Warrants.

Brought over

£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
10163	5	8	1083391	18	2½

Oct. 3.  
1776.

To John Charlton, for his pay as surgeon to the hospital at Boston, for 260 days, from 11 Feb. 1775, to 28 October following, both inclusive

130 0 0

To Messrs. Ross and Gray, for the pay of 9 surgeons mates belonging to the 1st batt. of the 60th reg. of foot, stationed at Jamaica, from 25 Dec. 1775, to 24 June 1776

278 10 6

8. To Robert Gordon, Esq. for 92 days pay, as commissary of provisions at Cork, from 22 May 1776, to 21 Aug. following

92 0 0

Nov. 13. To Capt. Andrew Frazer, for 188 days pay, as commissary at Dunkirk, from 6 April 1776, to 10 Oct. following, both inclusive

282 0 0

25. To Col. W. Roy, for 183 days pay, as superintendent of stores sent to America, from 14 April 1776, to 13 Oct. following, both inclusive

366 0 0

28. To Robert Gordon, Esq. for 92 days pay, as commissary at Cork, from 22 Aug. to 21 Nov. 1776, both inclusive

92 0 0

To Col. William Faucitt, for 92 days pay, as commissary in Germany, from 3 Aug. 1776, to 2

Carried over

11403	16	2	1083391	18	2½
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<i>Dates of Warrants:</i>		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
	Brought over	114	3	16	2	108	339
	Nov. following, both						
1776.	included	46	0	0			
Dec. 11.	To Major Generals Johnston, Parker, and Lord Adam Gordon, for their trouble and expence in reviewing his Majesty's forces in anno 1776	27	37	10	0		
17.	To John Fenton, Esq. for 184 days pay, as captain and commander of William and Mary castle, in New Hampshire, from 6 July 1776, to 5 Jan. 1777	18	4	0			
19.	To Richard Reeve, Esq. for 141 days pay, as deputy paymaster upon an expedition under Gen. Clinton, from 8 Jan. 1776, to 28 May following, both inclusive	23	1	0			
	To Robert Duff, Esq. for 145 days pay, as governor of Newfoundland, from 22 Oct. to 14 March 1776	23	7	10	0		
	To John Campbell, Esq. for 1 year's allowance, as superintendant and inspector of Indian affairs in the province of Quebec, from 2 Oct. 1775, to 2 Oct. 1776	300	0	0			
	To Major Hayman Rooke, as major to the late 98th reg. of foot, for 366 days allowance, to 24 Dec. 1776	27	4	10	0		
	To George Munro, Esq. for 366 days pay, 28						

Carried over

15788 16 2 108339 18 24

A. 1777.

## DEBATES.

221

<i>Dates of Warrants.</i>		<i>Brought over</i>	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
		commissary of stores in North Britain, to do.	15788	16	2	108339	18	25
		To Lieutenant Col. Birch, for 366 days allowance, in lieu of a troop of light dragoons, to ditto	183	0	0			
		To Major General Geo. Preston, for 366 days allowance, in lieu of a troop of light dragoons, to do.	283	13	0			
			283	13	0			
			<hr/>			16339	2	2
1776.	To Lord John Murray, to enable him to reimburse the non-commission officers and private men of the 42d regiment of foot, the stoppages made for the surgeon and pay-masters' allowances from 25 June 1775, to 24 Dec. following, and for the allowance of bread money, to the said regiment, from 18 Oct. to 14 Nov. 1775		164	4	8½			
Mar. 15.	To Edm. Armstrong, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the 8th of foot, the stoppages made for do. and for the allowance of bread to 32d regiment of foot from 25 June 1775, to the 24th Dec. following		392	15	1			
	To Adam Wood, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the 31st regiment of foot, the stoppages made for do. from 25 June 1775, to 24th Dec. following, and for the allowance of bread money							
		Carried over	554	19	9½	109993	1	0

*Dates of  
Warrants.*

Brought over

£. s. d.      £. s. d.  
554 19 9½ 1099931 0 4½

for the said regiment,  
from 1st July to 31 Dec.

1775

386 9 5

To Edward Bishop, Esq.  
to enable him to reim-  
burse do. of the 5th re-  
giment of foot the do.  
made for do. from 25  
June 1775, to 24 Dec.  
following, and for the al-  
lowance of bread money  
for the 29th regiment of  
foot for the same time

478 16 9

26. To Messrs. John and Geo.  
Hesse, to enable them to  
reimburse do. of the 37th  
regiment of foot the do.  
made for do. from 4 Aug.  
1775 to 24 Dec. follow-  
ing

71 17 9

Mar. 26. To James Meyrick, Esq. to  
enable him to reimburse  
the non-commissioned  
officers and private men  
of sundry regiments of  
foot, the stoppages made  
for the paymasters and  
surgeons allowances  
from 25 June 1775, to  
24 Dec. following

787 10 2

To Messrs. Roberts, to ena-  
ble them to reimburse  
do. of the 27th and 38th  
regiments of foot the do.  
made for do. from do. to  
do.

155 5 3

To Messrs. Adair and Bul-  
lock, to enable them to  
reimburse do. of the 4th,  
25th, and 47th regiments

Carried over

2434 19 1½ 1099931 0 4½

A. 1777.

## D E B A T E S.

213

Dates of  
Warrants.

Brought over

of foot the do. made for  
do. from do. to do.

£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
2434	19	1½	1099931	0	4½

223 12 7

To Sir Charles Montagu,  
to enable him to reim-  
burse do. of the 2d regi-  
ment of foot the do. made  
for do. from do. to do.

57 0 8

To James Fitter, Esq. to  
enable him to reimburse  
do. of the 15th and 55th  
regiments of foot, the  
stoppages made for do.  
from 5 August 1775, to  
24 Dec. following

142 14 8

To Messrs. Ross and Gray,  
to enable them to reim-  
burse do. of sundry regi-  
ments of foot the do. made  
for do. from 25 June  
1775, to 24 December  
following

857 13 8

1776.

May 17. To Hugh Josiah Hansard,  
Esq. to enable him to re-  
imburse do. of the 45th  
regiment of foot the do.  
made for do. from do. to  
do.

83 4 9

22. To Messrs. Cox and Mair,  
to enable them to reim-  
burse do. of sundry regi-  
ments of foot the do.  
made for do. from do.  
to do.

1293 18 6

Oct. 3. To James Meyrick, Esq. for  
his Majesty's allowance  
of bread money to the  
28th, 33d, 46th, 64th,  
and 70th regiments of  
foot stationed in Chat-  
ham barracks, Tinmouth,  
and Edinburgh castle

409 5 0

Carried over

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5502	8	11½	1099931	0	4½
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VOL. V.

P

*Dates of  
Warrants.*

Brought over

£. s. d. £. s. d.  
5502 18 11½ 1099931 0 4½

Oa. 31. To Messrs. Adair and Bullock, to enable them to reimburse the non-commissioned officers and private men of the 4th, 25th, and 47th regiments of foot, the stoppages made for the surgeon and paymasters allowances, from 25 Dec. 1775 to 24 June 1776

273 11 10

To Edward Bishopp, Esq. to enable him to reimburse do. of the 5th and 29th regiments of foot the do. made for do. from do. to do.

304 1 8

To Messrs. Meyrick, to enable them to reimburse do. of sundry regiments of foot the do. made for do. from do. to do.

933 12 6

To Lieutenant-general Armstrong, to enable him to reimburse do. of the 8th regiment of foot the do. made for do. from do. to do.

96 6 0

To Messrs. Ross and Gray, to enable them to reimburse do. of sundry regiments of foot the do. made for do. from do. to do.

1614 10 9

To Adam Wood, Esq. to enable him to reimburse the non-commissioned officers and private men of the 31st regiment of foot the stoppages made for the surgeons and paymas-

Carried over

8724 11 8½ 1099931 0 4½

A. 1777.

DEBATES.

215

Dates of  
Warrants.

Brought over

£. s. d. £. s. d.  
87 14 11 8 10 99931 0 4 1/2

ters allowances from 25  
Dec. 1775 to 24 June  
1776, and for the allow-  
ance of bread money to  
the said regiment, from 1  
Jan. to 23 June 1776

240 13 1

To Messrs. Anderson and  
Richardson, to enable  
them to reimburse the  
non-commissioned offi-  
cers, &c. of the 42d,  
or Royal Highland regi-  
ment of foot the do.  
made for do. from 25  
Dec. 1775, to 24 June  
1776

166 7 6

To H. J. Hanford, Esq. to  
enable him to reimburse  
do. of the 45th regiment  
of foot the do. made for  
do. from do. to do.

96 6 10

To Sir Charles Montague,  
to enable him to reim-  
burse do. of the 2d regi-  
ment of foot the do. made  
for do. from do. to do.

80 18 1

Nov. 15. To James Fitter, Esq. to  
enable him to reimburse  
do. of the 15th and 69th  
regiments of foot the do.  
made for do. from do. to  
do.

177 5 0

25. To Messrs. Roberts, to ena-  
ble them to reimburse  
do. of the 27th and 38th  
regiments of foot the do.  
made for do. from do. to  
do.

192 13 8

Dec. 20. To Sir Eyre Coote, to  
enable him to reimburse  
do. of the 37th regiment

Carried over

9678 16 0 1099931 0 4 1/2

P 2

<i>Dates of Warrants.</i>		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
	Brought over	978	16	0	1099931	0	4
	of foot the do. made for						
	do. from do. to do.	109	2	10			

9787 18 10

Feb. 17. To James Meyrick, Esq. for losses sustained by the officers of the 28th regiment of foot on board the transports in the storms on the 19th and 20th Oct. 1775

122 12 •

To Anne Boscawen, widow of Lieutenant General Boscawen, to enable her to replace sundry accoutrements, &c. belonging to 23d regiment of foot, lost in the actions of the 19 April and 17 June, against the rebels in North America

78 3 9

May 6. To Edmond Armstrong, Esq. for losses sustained by sundry officers of the 32d regiment of foot in the wreck of the Rockingham transport on the coast of Ireland, on 22 December 1775

624 14 •

To Messrs. Ross and Gray, in full satisfaction for the losses sustained by the Coldstream regiment of foot guards, in the fire at the Savoy barracks, on the 3d of March 1776

237 8 8

May 17. To Messrs. Cox and Mair, to be paid over to the colonels of the 22d and 40th regiments of foot, in full compensation for

1100 10

Carried over

1062 18 5 1109718 19 31



A. 1777.

## DEBATES.

287

Dates of  
Warrants.

Brought over

£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1062	18	5	11097	18	19
					34

the losses they sustained  
by the clothing of their  
respective regiments for  
the year 1775, being  
taken by the rebels at  
Philadelphia

1277 5 4

To Colonel William Am-  
herst, to replace sun-  
dry accoutrements and  
clothing of the 32d re-  
giment of foot, lost in  
the wreck of the Rock-  
ingham transport, on  
the coast of Ireland, the  
22 Dec. 1775

515 17 10

Sept. 16. To Sergeant Carter, of do.  
1776. regiment, for losses sus-  
tained by him on the  
wreck of do. transport

50 0 0

To Capt. Humph. Owen,  
of the 71st regiment of  
foot, for do. sustained by  
him on the taking of  
the Gaspee schooner by  
the rebels in America  
in the year 1775

145 0 0

Oct. 3. To Lieut. Col. Fletcher,  
of the 32d regiment of  
foot, for do. sustained by  
him in the wreck of the  
Rockingham transport

180 0 0

3231 1 7

1775. To Major General Scot,  
Oct. 23. in lieu of 353 days ditto  
offsets for the addi-  
tionals to the 26th regi-  
ment of foot

878 7 0

To Sir Robert Hamilton,  
in lieu of 353 days do.  
for do. of 40th regi-  
ment of foot

878 7 0

Carried over

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1756	14	0	1112950	0	104
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P 3

<i>Dates of Warrants.</i>	<i>Brought over</i>	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
1776.	To the Earl of Loudon,	1756	14	0	1112950	0	104
Feb. 17.	in lieu of 49 days do. for do. of 3d regiment of foot guards	160	7	11			
April 18.	To Earl Cornwallis, in lieu of 384 days do. for do. of 33d regiment of foot	413	13	11			
May 31.	To Major General Mackay, in lieu of 79 days do. for do. of 21st regiment of foot	80	2	8			
June 28.	To Major General Fraser, in lieu of 49 days do. for his regiment of foot	804	12	1			
	To Lord Frederick Cavendish, in lieu of 79 days do. for do. of 34th regiment of foot	85	2	2			
	To Major General Elphinstone, in lieu of 79 days do. for do. of 53d regiment of foot	85	2	2			
	To Major General Frederick, in lieu of 384 days do. for do. of 54th regiment of foot	413	13	10			
	To Sir A. Houghton, in lieu of 79 days do. for do. of 31st regiment of foot	80	2	8			
	To Major General Taylor, in lieu of 79 days do. for do. of 24th regiment of foot	85	2	8			
	To Lieut. General Evelyn, in lieu of 110 days offreck for the additionals of the 29th regiment of foot	111	11	7			
	To Lord Ligonier, in lieu						

Carried over

4076 5 2 1112950 0 104

Dates of  
Warrants.

	Brought over	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
	of 140 days do. for do.	4076	5	2	1112950	0	104
	of 9th foot	150	16	6			
	To Major General Preston, in lieu of 279 days do. for do. of 17th regiment of dragoons	373	0	4			
	To Major General Parker, in lieu of 79 days do. for do. of 20th regiment of foot	85	2	2			
	To Sir John Irwine, in lieu of 384 days do. for do. of 57th regiment of foot	413	13	10			
1776.	To Major Gen. Jones, in lieu of 79 days do. for do. of 62d regiment of foot	85	2	2			
Sept. 14.	To Earl Waldegrave, in lieu of 49 days do. for do. of the 2d or Coldstream regiment of foot guards	160	18	11			
	To Major Gen. Burgoyne, in lieu of 172 days do. for do. 16th regiment of dragoons	431	2	0			
	To his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, in lieu of 49 days do. for do. of the first regiment of foot guards	250	3	3			
					6026	4	5
Mar. 29.	To Lieut. General Haviland, for providing divers camp necessaries for the 45th regiment of foot	267	13	0			
	To Lieut. Gen. Monckton, for providing do. for the 17th regiment of foot	85	4	0			
	To Sir William Howe, for providing do. for the 23d regiment of foot	267	13	0			
	To Major Gen. Earle,						
	Carried over	620	10	0	1118976	5	34

<i>Dates of Warrants.</i>		<i>Brought over</i>	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
		for providing do. for the 28th regiment of foot	620	10	0	1118976	5	3½
	To Earl Cornwallis, for do. provided for the 33d regiment of foot		85	4	0			
	To Colonel Vaughan, for do. provided for the 46th regiment of foot		85	4	0			
	To Major General Pome-roy, for do. provided the 64th regiment of foot		85	4	0			
	To Major General Taylor, for do. provided for the 24th regiment of foot		267	13	0			
	To Earl Percy, for do. provided for the 5th re- giment of foot		267	13	0			
	To Major Gen. Evelyn, for do. provided for the 29th regiment of foot		267	13	0			
1776.	To Sir J. A. Oughton, for do. provided for the 31st regiment of foot		267	13	0			
Apr. 15.	To Sir William Boothby, for do. provided for the 6th regiment of foot		267	13	0			
	To Lord Ligonier, for pro- viding camp necessaries for the 9th regiment of foot		267	13	0			
	To Lord Esandford for do. provided for the 10th do.		267	13	0			
	To Major General Gif- borne, for do. provided for the 16th ditto		267	13	0			
	To Major General Parker, for do. provided for the 20th do.		267	13	0			
	To Lieut. General Gage,							
	Carried over		3552	12	0	1118976	5	3½

*Dates of  
Warrants.*

	Brought over	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
		3552	12	0	1118976	5	3½
for do. provided for the							
22d ditto		267	13	0			
- To Lord F. Cavendish, for							
do. provided for the 34th							
do.		267	13	0			
To Sir R. Hamilton, for							
do. provided for the 40th							
do.		267	13	0			
To Lieutenant-general Ca-							
rey, for do. provided for							
the 43d do.		267	13	0			
To Gen. Abercrombie, for							
do. provided for the 44th							
do.		267	13	0			
To Sir John Clavering, for							
do. provided for the 52d							
do.		267	13	0			
To Sir J. Irvine, for do.							
provided the 57th do.		267	13	0			
To Col. Jones, for do. pro-							
vided for the 62d do.		267	13	0			
To Major-gen. Grant, for							
do. provided for the 63d							
do.		267	13	0			
To Lieut.-gen. Urmston,							
for do. provided for the							
65th do.		267	13	0			
1776. April 16. To Lord John Murray, for							
do. provided for the 42d							
do.		448	13	0			
To the Earl of Cavan, for							
do. provided for the 15th							
do.		267	13	0			
To do. for do. provided for							
the 55th do.		186	18	0			
To Major-gen. Campbell,							
for do. provided for the							
35th do.		267	13	0			
To Major-gen. Burgoyne,							
for do. provided for the							
16th do. dragoons		595	9	3			
Carried over		7995	8	3	1118976	5	3½

Dates of  
Warrants.

Brought over

£. s. d. £. s. d.  
7995 8 3 1118976 5 34.

	To Major-gen. Cunningham, for do. provided for the 14th do. foot	85 4 0	
	To Major-gen. Mackay, for do. provided for the 21st do.	267 13 0	
	To Major-gen. Maitland, for do. provided for the 49th do.	267 13 0	
	To Major-gen. Elphinstone, for do. provided for the 53d do.	267 13 0	
	To Major-gen. Frederick, for do. provided for the 54th do.	85 4 0	
1776. April 18.	To Lieut.-gen. Hodgson, for do. provided for the 4th do.	267 13 0	
	To Sir Guy Carleton, for do. provided for the 47th do.	267 13 0	
	To Sir Eyre Coote, for do. provided for the 37th do.	267 13 0	
22.	To the Earl of Loudon, for do. provided for the detachment of foot guards	468 11 0	
May 6.	To Major-gen. Massey, for do. provided for the 27th do. of foot	85 4 0	
	To Major-gen. Pigot, for do. provided for the 38th do.	267 13 0	
17.	To Major-gen. Fraser, for do. provided for the 71st do.	881 9 0	
	To Lieut.-gen. Armstrong, for do. provided for the 8th do.	267 13 0	
		<hr/>	
			11742 4 3
	Carried over		<hr/>
			1130718 9 64

A. 1779

## DEBATES.

223

Dates of  
Warrants.

Brought over

£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
			113	9	6½

Feb. 14. To the Earl of Loudon,  
1776. for bas horses for a detachment from the three regiments of foot guards ordered on service in North America

210 0 0

15. To Lord John Murray,  
for bas horses for the 42d regiment of foot, ordered on service in North America

110 0 0

To Major-gen. Cunningham and Gisborne, for bas horses for the 14th and 16th do. ordered in service in do.

220 0 0

To Sir William Boothby, for bas horses for the 6th regiment of do. ordered to do.

110 0 0

May 31. To Major-gen. Frazer, for bas horses for the 71st do. ordered to do.

220 0 0

Feb. 14. To the Earl of Loudon, for baggage horses for a detachment from the three regiments of foot guards, ordered on service in do.

870 0 0

175 9 0

Mar. 15. To Lord John Murray, for do. of the 42d regiment of foot, ordered on do. in do.

221 5 0

To Major-gen. Cunningham and Gisborne, for do. of the 14th and 16th do. of do. ordered on do. in do.

357 10 0

To Sir William Boothby, for do. for the 6th do. of do. ordered on do. in do.

178 15 0

Carried over

934	10	0	113	15	88	9	6½
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<i>Dates of Warrants,</i>	<i>Brought over</i>	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
May 31. 1776.	To Major-gen. Frazer, for the 71st do. of do. ordered on do. in do.	932	10	2	1131588	9	6½
		453	15	0			
Feb. 14.	To the Earl of Loudon, for 100 days forage-money for a detachment from the three regiments of foot guards, ordered on service in do.				1386	5	9
Mar. 15.	To Lord John Murray, for 100 days do. for the 42d regiment of foot, ordered on service in do.	233	15	0			
	To Major-gen. Cunningham and Gishorne, for 100 days do. each, for the 14th and 16th regiments of do. ordered on service in do.	445	0	0			
	To Sir William Boothby, for 100 days do. for the 6th regiment of do. ordered on service in do.	222	10	0			
May 31.	To Major-gen. Frazer, for 100 days do. for the 71st regiment of do. ordered on service in do.	517	10	0			
Feb. 5.	To Edward Lewis, Esq. for a balance due to him for remitting money to the troops in West Florida, between 25 Aug. 1772, and 24 Aug. 1775				1668	15	9
June 13.	To Kender Mason, Esq. for the use of himself and Witter Cuming, deceased, for balance of their account, for remitting money to East Florida, between 25 October 1772, and 24 Aug. 1775.				519	10	4
					563	11	4
	Carried over	1135726	11	2½			



A. 1774

## THE DEBATES

225

Dates of  
Warrants.

Brought over

£.	s.	d.
1135726	11	2½

Mar. 22. To Robert Adair, Esq. to enable him to satisfy such bills as may be drawn upon him for the pay of divers extra surgeons and Surgeon's mates, in the ceded islands, &c.

£. 1000	0	0
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April 22. To do. for do.

2000	0	0
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3000	0	0
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Jan. 29. To Lieut.-col. William Roy, deputy quarter-master-general, to reimburse him his travelling expenses in 1775

352	1	0
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To Lieut.-gen. Harvey, for his contingent disbursements as adjutant-general to 24 December 1775

416	11	0
-----	----	---

Feb. 5. To George Garnier, Esq. for medicines and materials by him provided for the forces in England, the West Indies, Africa, and North America, in the year 1775

7277	16	4
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To Capt. Andrew Fraser, commissary at Dunkirk, for postage of letters, expresses, &c. for the year 1775

47	17	6
----	----	---

Mar. 12. To Sir George Osborne, for providing an equipage as commissary of the musters for the foreign troops

500	0	0
-----	---	---

15. To John Trotter, Esq. for providing hospital bedding and divers utensils for the use of the forces at Dominica and St. Augustine

96	13	8
----	----	---

April 3. To Sir James Esdaile, in full satisfaction for sundry accoutrements provided for the light infantry in the province of Quebec

2010	4	0
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29. To Col. Guy Johnson, superintendant of India affairs, in advance, and in part of his account for the pay of officers and incidental expenses in his department, between 25 Mar. 1775, and 25 Mar. 1776

2000	0	0
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May 17. To Lieut.-col. Samuel Townshend, for his contingent disbursements as superintendant of the recruiting service from

Carried over

1151427	14	8½
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Dates of  
Warrants.

Brought over

£. s. d.  
1151427 14 8½

1776.	25 June 1775, to 24 December following.			
May 20.	To Whitwell Butler, Esq. for the rent of a house at Senegal, for the use of the chief justice of the province of Senegambia, ended 7 Feb. 1776	141	8	0
24.	To Col. Guy Johnson, for expenses attending some Indian chiefs, during their residence in London	66	6	0
31.	To Col. Wilkins, in full satisfaction and discharge of the like sum expended by him in carrying on the public works in the Illinois country	515	5	9½
June 10.	To Richard Clarke, for the expense and losses of his son, in bringing to this country, from Quebec, by the directions of the commander in chief in Canada, four pilots, two deserters, and one prisoner, from the rebel army	112	18	2
12.	To the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, for levy-money of commissioned officers	212	13	0
20.	To John Ellis, Esq. for the purchase and keeping of a schooner for the service of the province of West Florida, from 1 Jan. 1776, to 1 Jan. 1777	3991	19	4½
28.	To Col. Cha. Rainsford, for divers expenses incurred by him in the passage of the regiment of Hanau infantry and company of artillery, to the place of their embarkation for North America	315	0	0
July 3.	To Col. Morrison, for his contingent disbursements as quarter-master-general, from 25 Dec. 1775, to 24 June 1776	516	9	0
5.	To Jeremiah Perry, to reimburse him his expenses in bringing over missionaries from the Musquito Indians, in the year 1775	303	10	0
8.	To Major-gen. Haldimand, for his ex-	953	10	0

Carried over

1158550 7 11½

A. 1777.

## DEBATE.

227

Dates of  
Warrants.

Brought over

£. s. d.  
1158550 7 11½

	penfes, and in lieu of pay while he acted as commander in chief in North America, during the absence of Lieutenant-general Gage	3033 17 0
1776. July 12.	To Isaac Barré, Thomas Fitzmaurice, and David Roberts, Esqrs. for the balance of the account of Ulysses Fitzmaurice, Esq. deceased, late governor of the islands of Grenada, Dominica, &c.	263 15 3½
Aug. 2.	To William Best, Esq. for contingent disbursements of the three Hanoverian battalions at Gibraltar, from 29 Nov. 1775, to 24 Dec. following	182 0 0
	To do. for the extraordinary expenses of the Hanoverian troops in their passage to Gibraltar and Minorca, in consequence of part of them having been stranded at Dunkirk and the isle of Rhé	864 14 2½
Aug. 17.	To Patrick George Crauford, Esq. for his expenses and trouble in carrying 63312l. 10s. to Hesse Cassel	254 18 3
	To H. J. Hansard, for the freight of the schooner Trial, hired to bring dispatches from Senegal	393 2 0
	To David Gordon, for his expenses and trouble in carrying 5000l. to Portsmouth, for the subsistence of the 2d division of the Brunswick troops	58 17 8
	To Thomas Harley, Esq. for the expenses of packing, insurance, and charges of clothing sent to Canada, for the service of the forces there	993 18 9
Aug. 19.	To John Trotter, Esq. for providing hospital-bedding, &c. for the use of the forces at St. Augustine and Dominica	422 13 3
	To do. for providing do. for the use of the sick recruits in Chatham barracks	51 2 0
17.	To R. P. Taylor, Esq. to be paid over to a translator of German vouchers	25 0 0
	Carried over	1164724 6 4½

*Dates of  
Warrants.*

Brought over

£. s. d.  
11647 24 6 4½

Sept. 16. To Lieut.-col. Townshend, for his contingent expense in superintending the recruiting service to 24 June 1776

258 6 7

Oct. 3. To Capt. Richard Bailie, of the 62d reg. for his contingent expenses as assistant to the quarter-master-general in North America, from 18 Nov. 1775, to 10 Sept. 1776

158 8 2

8. To the Hereditary Prince of Hesse Cassel for levy-money of commissioned officers of the regiment of Hanau

223 15 7

30. To Governor Tonyn, for the keeping up a schooner for the service of the province of East Florida, for one year, to 29th August 1777

417 5 0

31. To Robert Adair, Esq. to reimburse him several sums paid on account of the hospitals, and for his contingent disbursements, to 24 June 1776

756 1 1

Nov. 12. To John Blackburn, merchant, for victualling and maintaining the vessels employed on the lakes Ontario, Erie, and Huron, in North America, from 10 May 1775, to 10 May 1776

2400 0 0

13. To Thomas Harley, Esq. for packing, freight, carriage, insurance, and charges, in sending clothing to the invalids doing duty in sundry garrisons

355 10 10

To Jacob Wilkinson, Esq. on account of the works carrying on at the barracks at St. Augustine, in the province of East Florida

500 0 0

Dec. 14. To George Garnier, Esq. for medicines, &c. already provided, and to be provided by him, for the forces in England, the West Indies, Africa, and North America

5000 0 0

5. To Col. William Faucitt, for an equipage as commissary in Germany

306 2 6

19. To John Powell, Esq. for the contingent

Carried over

1175099 16 1½

A. 1777.

## D E B A T E S.

229

Dates of  
Warrants.Brought over £. s. d.  
1175099 16 1½

	cies. of his office as deputy paymaster at Quebec, for three years, to 24 June 1776			
1776.			173	3 1
Dec. 31.	To Vincent Mathias, Esq. for freight and charges paid on three consignments of clothing for the Brunswick troops in America, forwarded from Hamburg to London		95	16 7
1777.				
Jan. 3.	To Capt. William Pawlett, being his Majesty's royal bounty for the loss of his leg on service in North America, and the expenses of his cure		218	3 6
1776.				
Jan. 13.	To Col. George Morrison, for his contingencies as quarter-master-general from 25 June 1776, to 24 December following		299	10 0
	To William Rice, surveyor of the horse-guards, to be paid over to several artificers in full satisfaction for work done by them in repairs, &c. at Whitehall, the Tilt-yard, St. James's, Kensington, Somerset-house, Hampton-court, &c. between 25 December 1774, and 25 December 1775		1546	17 2
17.	To Abraham Prads, Esq. in full satisfaction and discharge of all damages and costs disbursed by him, on account of a prosecution commenced against him in the year 1759, for non-performance of a contract made between him and Thomas Orby Hunter, Esq.		1661	17 6
24.	To Capt. Hugh Lord, for the expense of a clerk during the time he commanded in the Illinois country		75	6 0
	Pay of the 17th, 27th, 28th, 46th, and 55th regiments of foot, for 143 days, from 4 Aug. 1775, to 24 Dec. following, both inclusive, at 20l. 19s. 6d. per diem each		21432	2 6

War-office, 13th Feb. 1777.

BARRINGTON.

VOL. V.

Total 1200600 12 5½

The

The House in Committee on the bill to suspend the *habeas corpus* act.

Sir Grey Cooper moved an amendment, to remove, as he said, any ambiguity in the first enacting clause; though he observed, there was no occasion for such explanation, as it was obvious that the locality of the offence was sufficiently described by the words "America, high seas, and piracy;" that the words, "said crimes, or either of them," could have no reference but to the several species of offence immediately preceding; and that the general power of committing, invested in the Crown, and contained in the description, "his Majesty's dominions," was evidently referable to the offences stated in the preamble and clause itself, as well as in the title of the bill; but, however, to remove all doubt respecting the true legal import and construction of the clause, the present amendment was intended to specify and confine the offence therein described, to America and the high seas, and the species of crime to treason and piracy.

Mr. Fielde said, he saw no manner of service in the clause now offered; it left the matter just as it found it: it was not the place where the fact was committed, that roused the jealousy of the nation; it was the power of committing within the realm, at pleasure on suspicion; and the other power of committing to any place, specially appointed, within the wide circuit of his Majesty's dominions. A possible abuse, or rather misconstruction of the clause, as it originally stood, might be made; but the powers of committing on suspicion, within the kingdom, and to whatever place the minister might think proper, were of such a nature in themselves, that if they were meant to be exercised, which he supposed they were, or if they should be exercised, they would inevitably be productive of the greatest hardships, cruelty, and injustice. If, therefore, ministers were determined not to relent, but to carry the measure through, with all its imperfections, they would, after defining the offence, as respecting America, confine the operation of the bill to that country, and introduce a distinct clause, which should suspend the *habeas corpus* act in Great Britain and Ireland, for a limited time, which would fully answer every ostensible purpose of the bill, as well as in its present form. He objected to other parts of the bill, and recommended strongly to administration to make a difference between persons taken in arms, and such as only submitted to the respective governments where they resided, and to the civil power and control established by the means of an usurped authority.

Lord

Lord *North* strongly urged the necessity there was for strengthening government at this critical period. He said it would be impossible to carry on public business without delegating powers to the Crown, on extraordinary occasions, which would not be proper, because they would not be wanting, on ordinary occasions. Parliament were the best judges when and to whom to intrust such extraordinary powers. If the present was a time that called for such a confidence on the part of Parliament, and that Parliament were satisfied that the King's servants would not call for an improper power, or abuse any power, the possession of which might be deemed necessary for the public safety and security, then every argument on a possible abuse of the present proposed law must fall to the ground. On the other hand, if Parliament should entertain any jealousy that the law would be wrested from its real intention, to purposes not avowed, or purposely concealed, then most certainly Parliament would do well to withhold the powers desired by this bill. For his part, he did not wish to press for any new power; the House must judge, and whichever way the House determined, he should cheerfully acquiesce in its judgment. The only material objection he heard offered against the bill, was that now obviated by the amendment proposed by his honourable friend [Sir Grey Cooper]. Whatever the learned Gentleman who spoke last might think, the amendment, in his opinion, cleared up the ambiguity of the expression so much complained of on the second reading. If the opposers of the bill meant that it should retain any efficacy at all, they must now rest satisfied and content: for to talk of apprehending persons only upon legal proofs previously stated, or after apprehension only detaining them till they could be released by a writ of *habeas corpus*, was in fact not debating the clauses of the bill, but controverting its very principle--the necessity, at this critical season, of strengthening the hands of government.

Mr. *Dempster* replied pretty fully to his Lordship, and agreed that his Lordship was perfectly right in one part of his argument, where he said, that those who opposed the bill, though they seemed desirous to mend it, in fact disapproved of the principle on which it proceeded. He acknowledged the observation to be perfectly just; for though he wished the bill were rendered less noxious, even if it were amended, he should give it a direct negative in the last stage. There was only one point in which he and the noble Lord agreed, and that was, if the necessity were shewn, the propriety of suspending the *habeas corpus* act would follow of course: no grounds,

grounds; or indeed decent pretence for any such necessity, having been stated, all arguments under any such pretext were at an end. He moved an amendment to the body of the bill, limiting the objects of it, for the better protection of the inhabitants of Great Britain.

Lord North rose again, and said, he thought the amendment unnecessary; for that the inhabitants of Great Britain wanted no such security, they were not within the act; and if any one was unjustly imprisoned, this act would not protect the injury, the party would have his action, and the warrant, if a bad one, would derive no legality from this act.

Mr. Maysey observed, this was no answer to the objection (of Mr. Dempster); he thought the objection might be removed without sacrificing the real object of the act, otherwise he should not have supported it. To say the party has his action, was no reason for depriving him of the *habeas corpus*. That our forefathers had their action, before any of the *habeas corpus* acts were passed, and they found it a very insufficient protection, and so they would again, if driven to that alone. If the amendment could not be received, he should vote for the bill without it, which he thought a very necessary one; but he recommended to administration to adopt a provision of this sort themselves, and make it their own act; before the bill should pass.

Mr. Fielde also approved of Mr. Dempster's amendment, and spoke in support of it.

Lord Advocate of Scotland [Mr. Dundas] spoke warmly in favour of the bill as it originally stood; and contended, if necessity was a good ground, that necessity most apparently and incontrovertibly existed at present. He said, that the hands of government called for every assistance it was in the power of Parliament to delegate or create. It was absurd to the last degree, to express a confidence in the Crown and its ministers, and yet mix it with the most childish fears, and worst-founded suspicions. To act thus, was to qualify the trust now sought in such a manner, as to render it totally useless or inefficacious.

Right hon. T. Townshend said, the amendment [Sir Grey Cooper's] would answer no one substantial purpose. There should be a line drawn between the innocent and the guilty; the degree of probability attending the suspicion, the degree of guilt, concerning which that suspicion arose; and a mode of redress, in cases where the power granted by the bill was manifestly or grossly abused: in short, it was, in his opinion, arming ministers with a power every way unprecedented and unknown.



unknown to the constitution; dangerous in itself, and alarming to the last degree.

*Mr. Powys* against the bill.

*Mr. Wallace* in favour of the bill, in its amended state; and said, that the whole arguments on the other side supposed an abuse of the powers granted by the bill; he had a right to suppose the very contrary; so that with him, and every person who thought as he did, every objection raised on such a supposed abuse could have no weight.

*Mr. Morton* confessed, that he did not see the bill exactly in the same light with several of his learned brethren, for whose opinions he entertained the highest respect; for by a natural interpretation of the clause, it was apparent, that the whole bill was manifestly at variance with the title and preamble. The bill was to punish by due course of law, persons guilty of the crimes of high treason in America and on the high seas; or, more properly speaking, to empower the Crown, on grounds of suspicion, to apprehend and commit such persons; as the preamble states, who have been or may be brought into this kingdom; yet the part of the bill where this power of apprehending and detaining is given, does not only give that power, but a general power to take up any person, no matter for what crime. It was absurd to say, that the locality of the crime was marked out by the bill; for where was the redress provided? No where, that he could see, but by an application to the Privy Council, who were to be invested with the power of the courts of common law. But the mischief would be done, in the first instance, previous to any such application, and the *habeas corpus* act would be in fact suspended, to all intents and purposes, within the realm, for crimes not pretended to have been committed within the realm. He was therefore clearly of opinion, that it was better to suspend the *habeas corpus* at once, by a clause to be inserted in the bill; because, in that case, every man would know what he had to depend on, and every good subject would acquiesce in a power civilly created for the public benefit.

*Mr. Solicitor General (Mr. Wedderburne)* said it was to the last degree absurd to talk and reason as if we were at present in a state of perfect tranquillity, whereas nothing could be more opposite to such a desirable state of things.

*Mr. Sergeant Glynn* spoke for a considerable time against the bill at large, as well as the amendment. He condemned the power given to the magistrates, who, he said, might exercise it to serve the most base and oppressive purposes. It might be employed by the ministers to effect the most cruel acts of

tyranny; and though the law might be open, and the magistrate might be convicted of false imprisonment, it would not probably be a farthing out of his own pocket; but on the contrary, it might put several hundred pounds into his pocket, all which would be ultimately drawn from the public purse.

The Attorney General [Mr. *Thurlow*] said, one would be inclined to think that the gentlemen on the other side chose to forget the customary conduct in times of public confusion. If they had not, they would have confessed, that it had been always usual to arm government with great discretionary powers *pro tempore*. If those powers should be abused, that would be a very proper subject for Parliament hereafter to inquire into; but if Parliament entertained no such suspicion, nor had no right to entertain any such suspicion, it was a most extraordinary mode of reasoning to argue against the use of the bill from the possible abuse of it. As to the operation of the bill within the kingdom, it was an objection totally new. If giving intelligence to an enemy was a species of treason, which several well-authenticated cases in the books affirmed it was, it would indeed be very strange, if a person guilty of treason should escape punishment because he resided in the kingdom. On the contrary, if there were men in the kingdom answering any such description, that was one very principal motive, in his opinion, for passing the bill.

The Committee divided upon the amendment proposed by Mr. Dempster; 125 against it, and 25 for it.

*February 14.*

Order of the day for receiving the report from the committee on the bill to suspend the *habeas corpus* act.

As the Speaker was going to receive the report, the Hon. T. *Luttrell* stood up, and submitted to the House whether it would not be improper, and highly indecent, to precipitate that business, when there were not as yet fifty members present in the House, and the sheriffs of London, in behalf of the city, would arrive in a few minutes with a petition against that very bill which they were now about to hurry through Parliament. He reminded the Speaker, that above two hundred members had yesterday been kept waiting for one individual member [Lord North] till four o'clock, without the least murmur or discontent, and now so unusual an impatience was to be expressed, when the first officers of the city, in the exercise of a most important public duty, were coming to their bar.

In a few minutes the sheriffs came, and being called in, presented the following petition, and withdrew.

To

To the Hon. the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled.

The humble petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, of the city of London in Common Council assembled, sheweth,

That your petitioners have seen a bill depending in this Honourable House, to empower his Majesty to secure and detain persons charged with, or suspected of, the crime of treason committed in North America, or on the high seas, or the crime of piracy.

That if the said bill do pass into a law, your petitioners are apprehensive it will create the greatest uneasiness in the minds of many of his Majesty's good subjects, and tend to excite the most alarming disturbances: all persons indiscriminately being liable, upon the ground of suspicion alone, without any oath made, and without convening the parties, or hearing what they can allege in their own justification, to be committed to a remote prison in any corner of the realm, there to remain without bail or mainprize.

That the *habeas corpus* act, which is the great security of the liberties of the people, will be suspended.

That your petitioners are deeply affected with what they conceive will be the dangerous consequence of such a law, as from little motives of resentment, and various other inducements, there may be persons competent to commit, who may be tempted to exercise that power in its utmost latitude and extent.

That measures so violent and unconstitutional, so subversive of the sacred and fundamental rights of the people, and subjecting them to the most cruel oppression and bondage, will, in the judgment of your petitioners, be introductive of every species of mischief and confusion; and thereby precipitate the impending ruin of this country.

Your petitioners therefore earnestly beseech this Honourable House; That the said bill may not pass into a law, or at least to take such care as in their wisdom may seem meet, to prevent it from being extended in its operation or construction to any of his Majesty's subjects resident in these kingdoms.

Mr. Luttrell again rose, and spoke with great asperity against the bill, and the framers of it; said it was not only arbitrary and ambiguous, but replete with danger to every individual in this country; and in its present form and extent directly contrary to the intentions avowed by the noble Lord [Lord North] and his ministerial coadjutors, when they

brought it into the House. He said the more he heard it discussed, the more he was convinced of its importance to the public, and of many unconstitutional designs and mischiefs couched under it.

Mr. Sergeant *Glyn* spoke likewise warmly against the bill; and insisted, that, if it should pass in its present form, no man could say, however innocent, loyal, or virtuous, how long he should be out of a loathsome dungeon.

Mr. *Fox* was against receiving the report. He said no man was safe an instant, should the present bill pass into a law. It would arm the worst and most profligate of the human species; and give them a power over the best men in the nation. No man would be safe under it, unless one could suppose that a country magistrate understood more law, and was more sagacious, or a trading justice had more honour and equity in him, than the chief justice of Chester (Mr. Morton); that gentleman was of opinion, that the bill gave the powers now attributed to it; and if so, it was clear, the bill meant something very different from what it was said to import.

Sir *Grey Cooper* defended the bill, as it stood altered by the amendment, with the same arguments made use of the preceding day.

Mr. *Powys* moved a clause, That nothing should be construed to be piracy, within the meaning and construction of this act, but what is committed on the high seas. This clause, if agreed to, he apprehended, would be the means of quieting the minds of a great number of innocent people, and of removing those terrors which must be suspended over their heads, should the present bill pass into a law. By an act passed in the reign of George the First, it was enacted, that trading or corresponding with pirates should be adjudged felony, without benefit of clergy, according to the statutes of the 28th of Henry VIII. chap. 15, and the 11th and 12th of William, chap. 7; so would bartering, dealing, furnishing them with stores, &c. Now, if before it was declared by this bill, that the depredations committed by the Americans, on our trading vessels, and our property at sea, was piracy, it should appear or be made a ground of suspicion or accusation, that persons in this country had actually corresponded with America, and that such correspondence should be deemed piracy within the statute, it would follow, that many of his Majesty's loyal subjects might, by construction of law, coupling both statutes in such a manner as to give them the desired effect, be deemed pirates, and be liable to suffer the pains

pains and penalties of death, as convicted pirate felons. He presumed that was not the intention of administration; nay, it could not be the intention, because they had so repeatedly disclaimed it; yet as nothing now remained to be proved, but that the present statute, having reference to that of George the First, was capable of such an explanation, it would be proper, in his opinion, to guard against such a dangerous possibility. He therefore desired the statute might be read: the statute of the 8th of George the First, chap. 24, was accordingly read; by which it plainly appeared, that the ground of jealousy was fairly stated, and the inference clearly made out.

Lord *North*, after disclaiming any such intention in administration, and affirming that no such construction of the law was ever meant to be made, acquiesced in the amendment; he said, to remove every object of jealousy that could be entertained on that head. The clause was accordingly read a second time, and agreed to.

Mr. *Pewys* next observed, that by the bill, as it stands in its present form, any man was liable to be apprehended, and committed to prison, on suspicion of having committed high treason in America, though he had never been in America, nor perhaps out of his own parish. He said, this power of general commitment had a most dark and dangerous aspect. To clear up this point, he had a clause to offer, which would put matters on a proper footing; if ministers really meant what they publicly avowed, what the title of the bill imported, and what had been so often declared by the honourable Gentleman who moved the amendment the preceding day, they could not decently refuse it. A person never out of England could not be guilty of high treason committed in America. If not guilty of high treason in America, but perhaps in Great Britain, why not hold that language in the bill; and add, "or in Great Britain?" Besides, it would be preposterous to continue the bill under the name of a bill to secure, or detain, on suspicion, persons guilty of committing high treason in America, when, by construction of law, it was meant to include Great Britain. He therefore moved the following clause: "That no person shall be secured, or detained, under or by virtue of this act, for high treason, or suspicion of high treason, unless such person shall be charged to have been locally resident in his Majesty's said colonies or plantations in North America, at the time he shall be charged with, or suspected of committing high treason."

Mr.

Mr. *Cornwall* quoted several cases, in which persons had been charged with acts of treason committed in one place, though it afterwards came out in proof that said treason had been committed in another. Such was the case of the publication of the imputed libel of the seven bishops, in the reign of James the Second. It was proved at the trial, that the petition was drawn up at Lambeth, in the county of Surry, at the Archbishop's palace, and the publication was in the council-chamber or drawing-room at St. James's, where the petition was presented. The offence was charged to have been committed in Surry, though, in fact, the publication, which could only constitute the offence, was committed in Middlesex. The exception was, therefore, taken by the bishops' counsel, as a ground of justification, that no such offence was committed; for that the writing the petition in itself was an innocent act, that it was the publication that constituted the crime; and that, consequently, the defendants ought to be discharged. Yet, he said, the court were unanimous, that the writing the libel at Lambeth, and publishing it at St. James's, constituted effectively but one act; on which the plea was over-ruled. Mr. *Cornwall* dwelt, likewise, a considerable time on the case of Lord Preston, early in the reign of William the Third. There it appeared that treasonable papers and correspondence found on his Lordship, were composed in London; that he was endeavouring to escape to France, but was taken aboard a smack, or fishing vessel, hired for the purpose, down near the Nore, on the coast of Kent; when the vessel being searched, the treasonable papers were found concealed; as his Lordship had not time to destroy them. His Lordship was indicted for an offence committed in Middlesex, though the publication, or discovery, was manifestly in Kent. A similar plea was offered, but it was over-ruled on the same ground, that the writing and publishing was all one act. In the present case, therefore, he contended, though the offence might have been committed here, by a person who had never been out of this kingdom, yet its operation in America, within the words of the act, would constitute one complete offence. The fact might not be criminal, in the first instance, and become criminal afterwards, from its consequences, and yet, by a fair and justifiable construction of law, be deemed one complete act. He was of opinion, therefore, that the clause would destroy one of the main purposes of the bill, and could never answer any purpose

purpose of protecting the innocent, though it might effectually serve the purpose of screening the guilty.

The House divided on Mr. Powys's second clause; for it, 14, against it, 49.

Adjourned to February 17.

February 17.

Third reading of the bill for suspending the *habeas corpus* act.

Mr. Dunning said, he had a clause to propose, which he trusted would appear of singular importance to the House; and which, he hoped, would meet with the approbation of a very considerable majority. It was of infinite importance itself, but became still of greater, in the reception it was likely to meet with from a certain set of men, who, on the present occasion, thought fit to differ from their friends. The clause would, to borrow a phrase from a celebrated political writer, prove a test, or trial of spirits, whereby the public at large would be enabled to decide on the political principles of the learned Gentleman who framed the bill, and his other learned Friend near him [Attorney and Solicitor General]. It would besides shew whether those gentlemen were serious, or whether the different conversations they held within these walls, for some days past, ought to be held in the light of the ingenious exercises of ingenious men, willing to shew their talents in the science of parliamentary controversy, the chief excellence of which consisted in a knack of giving words and phrases any interpretation but their natural and obvious one. The clause he had to offer, would appear as matter of record, that would admit of no qualification whatever. It would bring the friends of the bill to the bar; they must either leap over it, or flatly and directly refuse it. The professed father of the bill [Attorney General] had, he said, as he conceived, very properly given it the title of a bill for apprehending and committing persons charged with, or suspected of committing high treason in America, or on the high seas, or of the crime of piracy. The preamble of the bill spoke the same language; and such every body, both within and without doors, supposed the bill to be intended, till it came to be examined, unless such as were in the secret.—He had himself fallen into the same error; but when it came to be debated on the second reading, he was astonished to find the title of the bill, and the preamble likewise, totally at variance with the first enacting clause; for it was manifest, that any man, though never in America, or on sea, might be

be imprisoned by the bill, for suspicion of crimes stated specifically to have been committed in America, and on sea; nay, more, that it might be in the power of the most ignorant or servile trading magistrate to order a warrant to apprehend, and follow it immediately with another to commit the person so apprehended to any place of confinement known or specially appointed within the wide circuit of his Majesty's dominions, in any one of the four quarters of the globe. He should not take up the time of the House in giving an history of all the disputes and altercations on the amendments proposed, or rejected, in the course of the preceding week. The conduct of his learned friends was, however, curious. They did not directly deny the inferences now drawn, particularly towards the latter end; they dealt chiefly in general assertions; they explained what the law was before the present bill was brought in, and insisted that the act was intended to apply only to the punishment of certain specific offences; but the whole code of criminal jurisprudence was not to be broken through, merely to satisfy the doubts of speculative men, who argued upon possibilities, that never were in the contemplation of those who were convinced of the necessity of the present measure. Sweeteners were likewise added, to render the whole more palatable; the virtues of the sovereign, and the integrity of his servants, were balanced against such idle delusory fears, in order to still the apprehensions of those who might think the American war a very just and necessary war, and yet look upon the bill to be a very bad bill. Such, as well as he could recollect, was the obvious import of the bill, and the general conduct of those who brought it in, and were intrusted with carrying it through the House. A great parade was made in the Committee, of an amendment moved by an honourable Gentleman over the way [Sir Grey Cooper]; but the bill, as to the material point, that of contradicting the title and preamble, still remained the same. On the report, the language of administration seemed to be somewhat softened; but was only in words. They said, generally, that both sides of the House meant the same thing; that they only differed about the means; and that, if the effectual operation of the bill was secured, they were totally indifferent as to the mode.—To bring them then to a test of their sincerity, he had framed a clause that would prove totally unobjectionable, if they meant what they pretended; if they did not, then a refusal on their part would prove what he had all along suspected, but which he hoped to be mistaken in; that is, that



that the present bill, under the popular pretext of punishing treason in America, was really designed to lodge a dictatorial power in the Crown; which power, both in point of precedent and exercise, would enable ministers to effect schemes of the most pernicious and unconstitutional complexion; while in the first instance, it would annihilate, at least suspend, all the fundamental functions and legal powers of the constitution. He therefore moved the clause in the following words: "Provided also, and be it hereby declared, that nothing herein contained is intended, or shall be construed, to extend to the case of any other prisoner or prisoners, than such as have been in some one of the colonies before mentioned, or on the high seas, at the time or times of the offence or offences wherewith he or they shall be charged."

Mr. Cornwall said, it was at no time the desire or wish of administration to seek for improper or unconstitutional powers; or, if they should obtain them, to employ them to evil or oppressive purposes. He contended strenuously, that the title and preamble of the bill were not at variance with the first, or any other enacting clause. The whole bill was meant to punish offences committed in America, or on the high seas. If by any criminal correspondence, or assistance from hence, it should reach people not locally resident in America, he presumed the most zealous opposer of the bill in that House, would not wish to defeat its operation. It was directed only against the guilty; and if an innocent person should suffer a temporary inconvenience, it must be on the ground of general good, which, since he ever heard any thing of government, he always understood to be a sufficient plea for desiring new and extraordinary powers. However, as the learned Gentleman, who brought up the clause, had expressed such a jealousy of the bill in its present amended state, and such anxiety for the liberty of his fellow-subjects, which he seemed to think so much depended on the fate of the present clause, he should in turn put a test to the learned Gentleman, in order to be convinced whether his intentions corresponded precisely with his declarations.—He then moved, that the words "in some or one of the colonies, or on the high seas," be left out, and that there be inserted instead thereof, "out of the realm;" and that at the conclusion of the clause, as originally moved, there be added, "or of which they shall be suspected."

Mr. Wilkes. I cannot continue silent, while the fate of so important a bill as the present is depending before this House.

Administration

Administration at first brought in this bill, in a form which gave a very general and just alarm to the city, to the nation. If it had passed in that form, in my opinion the whole kingdom would have been put under an interdict of law; the personal liberty of every man in this island had been precarious and insecure, depending solely on the will of the minister. The spirit of the bill, in its original state, was oppression and tyranny through every part of the empire. In this state the bill has continued till this day. By the patriotic zeal of an honourable Gentleman of the law [Mr. Dunning] a clause has just been offered, and adopted by way of rider, as it is called, in this stage of the bill, which gives peace of mind and security, in some degree, to every subject resident in this kingdom. Persons under this description are at length declared not to be the objects of this bill. I speak of the clause, Sir, even as pretended to be amended by an honourable Gentleman on the treasury-bench [Mr. Cornwall]. His words, however, Sir, "out of the realm," are too loose and ambiguous, by no means descriptive enough of the persons who are declared by administration not designed to be the objects of the bill. The bill is professed to relate only to treasons committed in North America, by persons actually resident in that quarter of the globe. Gentlemen, however, on a tour of business to Ireland, or of pleasure to France or Flanders, or even on a fishing party on our own coasts, beyond low-water mark, are acknowledged to be "out of the realm," and may be brought within the act, even as it now stands. An opening is still left for public or private revenge and oppression to operate. The expression, therefore, ought rather to have been, "out of Europe," than "out of the realm," if the former words, moved by my honourable friend, "in some or one of his Majesty's colonies before mentioned, or on the high seas," were rejected. But why, Sir, are words so clear and explicit to be changed, unless for some dark purpose, which dares not be avowed?

This new clause, Sir, has happily narrowed the objects of the bill, but in no degree narrowed the proofs, or the nature of the evidence necessary. I shall therefore give the bill my hearty negative, for I will never consent to increase the enormous power of the Crown, at the expense of the freedom of the subject. I will not arm ministers with an unconstitutional power, dangerous to the people. In the preamble to the bill, it is said, "Many persons have been seized and taken, who are expressly charged or strongly suspected of such treasons

sons and felonies, and many more such persons may be hereafter so seized and taken :” in the first enacting clause of the bill, and throughout, the word “strongly” is omitted, and the slightest suspicion may warrant the commitment. The words are, “All and every person or persons, who have been or shall hereafter be seized or taken in the act of high treason, committed in any of his Majesty’s colonies or plantations in America, or on the high seas, or in the act of piracy, or who are or shall be charged with or suspected of the crime of high treason, committed in any of the said colonies, or on the high seas.” It is therefore apparent, that a mere pretended suspicion, or foolish credulity, or determined villainy, in a wretched, ignorant, mercenary tool of a ministerial magistrate, may still render the objects of this bill, who are the inhabitants of above half the empire, liable to imprisonment, and imprisonment without bail or mainprize ; for that cruelty was still determined to be exercised by the committee, notwithstanding the humane motion of my worthy colleague, to leave out those obnoxious words. There is not a syllable in the bill of the degree of probability attending the suspicion. The bill, greatly amended as it has been, does not, even now, require an oath, nor that the parties should be heard in their own justification, nor confronted with the witnesses ; nor does it mention that two witnesses should be deemed necessary for the colourable ground of a commitment for so high a crime as treason in America, as is the law in other cases within the kingdom. Is it possible, Sir, to give more despotic powers to a bashaw of the Turkish empire ? What security is left for the devoted objects of this bill against the malice of a prejudiced individual, who, if he is prosecuted afterwards for so flagrant an abuse of power, will certainly be indemnified, probably rewarded, by a most arbitrary administration ? Actions may indeed be brought against the offender, but we know all damages recovered, however great, are paid by the people, not by the party. Even in the case of petit treason, by an express act of Edward VI. no person can be convicted, but on the oath of two sufficient and lawful witnesses, or confession, willingly without violence. So careful, Sir, were our wise ancestors of protecting the liberty of the meanest subject.

This case, Sir, demands our strictest attention and vigilance, from what we daily experience of the conduct of those underling officers of every minister, who traffick and deal out justice, under the colour of legal magistracy. There is now,  
Sir,

Sir, actually in Newgate, an American merchant, named Ebenezer Smith Plat, who stands committed so lately as the 23d of last January, charged with high treason at Savannah in the colony of Georgia in North America. He is committed by the well-known Justice Addington, and, as I am informed, was not allowed to see any of the witnesses against him, nor even to hear their affidavits read. He had before been tried on the same charge, at Kingston in Jamaica, and acquitted. I never saw him, but I have read an attested copy of the warrant of his commitment. He is charged generally with high treason, which I take to be an illegal commitment. I do not pretend, Sir, to a deep knowledge of the law. I have only the attentive reading of a private gentleman. I build my legal faith on some known and approved authorities, a Blackstone, a Burn, and a very few others. Those authors agree, that every warrant of commitment ought to set forth the cause specially; that is to say, not for treason or felony in general, but for treason in compassing the death of the King, or levying war against his Majesty in the realm, or counterfeiting the King's coin; or felony, for stealing the goods of such a one to such a value, and the like. A court may then judge, whether the offence is such, for which a prisoner ought to be admitted to bail. If then a justice, living in the capital, under the immediate eye and direction of ministers, is guilty of such an illegal commitment, what is not to be dreaded from the base engines of power, in the more remote counties? Is it possible, Sir, for too great caution to be used, by enforcing in the body of a bill, which is to suspend the *habeas corpus* act, the necessity of an oath of two witnesses to the charge, and of their being confronted with the prisoner?

The case of Plat, Sir, gives us an instance of another violation of the law, an evasion of the *habeas corpus* act, that holy statute, which ministers hold in abhorrence, and are allowed in England to evade with impunity, in America to suspend for very near a twelvemonth. The history of it is this: Plat was first confined to the Antelope for three months, then removed to the Boreas for four weeks, then carried on board the Pallas, and in her brought in irons to England. On her arrival at Portsmouth he was removed on board the Centaur for three weeks, then to the Barfleur. On the 4th of January, an *habeas corpus* was obtained, directed to the captain of the Barfleur; but before it could be served, an express was sent from the Treasury, by their solicitor, and Plat was removed again to the Centaur, before the *habeas corpus* could arrive

arrive at Portsmouth. The return to the *habeas corpus* was thus eluded; but on his friends being determined to sue out another, Platt was at last sent to the capital, and in the illegal mode which I have stated, was committed to Newgate. I speak, Sir, in the hearing of many gentlemen, who ought to contradict me, if I have advanced a single circumstance not founded in truth. Can ministers, Sir, who are capable of thus trampling on our most sacred laws, be too narrowly watched; too deeply suspected, too strongly guarded against? Do we not owe it to the people to demand every security from the sanction of an oath, the number of witnesses, the confronting of them with the prisoner, the hearing him in his own justification, and other circumstances, of which not the least trace is to be found in this criminal, arbitrary bill? Is the personal liberty of the subject to rest on the mere pretended suspicion of a man, who acts under orders of a professed ministerial agent, ever ready to make his court to power by the sacrifice of public virtue and innocence, whose incapacity perhaps can only be equalled by his meanness and sordid lust of gain?

I regret, Sir, the indecent rage, the extravagant madness, with which every measure, and in particular the bill in question, has been carried on against the Americans. It precludes every possibility of a reconciliation, so ardently to be wished. Let us advert, Sir, for a moment to the difference of two cases in point, the suspicion only of high treason in America, and the actual charge of it here. A man only suspected of high treason in America, for instance, in giving aid or assistance to the Congress, or to any of the King's enemies, on coming over to England may be committed to prison, and by this bill continue there without bail or main-prize, or being able to bring on his trial, for near a year, till Jan. 1, 1778, to which time this bill is to continue in force. In this kingdom a man suspected, or even actually charged with high treason in conspiring the death of the King, or levying war in the realm, may have a *habeas corpus*, and be bailed by the court of King's Bench. The suspicion therefore of American treason seems a deeper crime, in the judgment of our present ministers, than an overt act of English, or more properly Scottish, treason and rebellion against his Majesty's person, title, crown, or dignity. I suppose it is thought, Sir, a deeper crime, because it is more grievously punished. Do we imagine the Americans will not retaliate, or do we vainly hope to intimidate them? Their cause is good, and after all the idle tales of our late visionary successes,

cesses, the justice of it must in the end prevail. They are nobly struggling under the sharpest sufferings, but I trust they have zeal and perseverance. In all events, the first moment of a foreign war necessarily obliges us to withdraw our fleets and armies; and every part of North America must then be free and independent. This bill will probably be answered by a spirited resolution of the Congress. Would to God, Sir, our Parliament equalled that congress of heroes in wisdom, in love of their country, in uncorruptedness, in public virtue!

The second enacting clause of the bill, Sir, empowers "his Majesty, by warrant under his sign manual, to appoint one or more places of confinement, within the realm, for the custody of such prisoners; and all and every magistrate or magistrates, having competent authority in that behalf, are hereby authorized to commit such persons as aforesaid to such place or places of confinement, so to be appointed, instead of the common gaol." This clause may operate, Sir, in a manner more to be dreaded than any banishment, or confinement out of the realm; and a power which may be grossly abused, ought not to be trusted to any man. A person only suspected, or pretended to be so, may be doomed to the dampest, most noxious dungeon, on the most swampy coast. He may be stifled in a vault, to whose foul mouth no healthsome air breathes in. I, Sir, perhaps may at last be suspected, and possibly it will not be a slight suspicion. I have formerly experienced an illegal, close, and rigorous imprisonment, but by this bill I may be sent to the barbarous highlands of Scotland, or among the savages in the dreary Isle of Bute, from whose bourn I am sure I should never return, even as a traveller, much less as a prisoner. Is it ingeniously meant, Sir, as a new mode of re-peopling that ancient kingdom?

Much has been said, Sir, both in the committee and in the House, about a dictator, and his extensive powers. Many periods of the Roman history have been retailed out to us minutely enough. Comparisons between that virtuous republic and this corrupt monarchy, are generally more brilliant than solid, more beautiful than just. A right hon. gentleman [right hon. Mr. Conway] under the gallery, has just observed, that our glorious deliverer, King William the Third, was a dictator here after the suspension of the *habeas corpus* act in his reign. Should the present bill for the suspension of that act, pass into a law, I shall regard the noble Lord with the blue riband as the modern dictator of this great empire, as possessed of the most ample and despotic powers. The first

first act of business in an ancient dictator, I remember, was to make his coadjutor in office, his *magister equitum*, his general of horse. If public gratitude has any weight with him, I am sure for such an office he will turn his eyes to the noble Lord\*, now so near him, who, to his immortal honour, great and invincible courage, advanced, and charged the enemies of our country at the head of the British horse. In one particular respecting the dictator of ancient times, I beg to set right a very high law-officer [Attorney General, Mr. Thurlow] among us. All the Roman magistrates were not, as he says, superseded by that creation. The tribunes of the people, but they alone, preserved their authority, even under a dictator.

It has been said, Sir, by another gentleman, who is likewise in a great law-office [Solicitor General, Mr. Wedderburne], that in this House a discontented party had ridiculously given into a tone of prophecy, which has never been accomplished, and that particularly about a year ago it was the case of the right honourable gentleman who spoke lately under the gallery. It is not, I believe, very parliamentary to quote words spoken in a former debate: but if that member's memory goes to a prophecy of one year, which has not been fulfilled, he will permit mine a fair excursion to another prophecy of that very member's, six years ago, which has been exactly verified. His prophecy in this House was, that if the same violent measures against the Americans were persisted in, the colonies, which formed so great a strength to this kingdom in the reign of George II. would be dismembered from the British empire in the reign of George III. No prophecy, Sir, ever received a more perfect accomplishment. He wonderfully possesses the second sight of his native country. How deeply criminal he and others have been in the bringing this prophecy to pass, I hope this House will one day inquire. A very extraordinary observation of the same gentleman in the present debate, amid a variety of heterogeneous matter, it is impossible for me not to mention. He has laughed at universal benevolence, and endeavoured to demonstrate the impossibility of its existence. But, Sir, he has only given us the narrow, contracted, selfish ideas of his own heart, and his own country. His sentiments and his feelings are confined to a very small insignificant circle indeed. They are merely clannish and Scottish. His remarks I saw excited a general indignation among us. An Englishman has ideas infinitely

\* Lord George Germaine, in 1759 Lord George Sackville.

more liberal and enlarged. His heart expands itself, and takes in the general good and prosperity of all mankind. It feels not the rancour, and disdains the injustice of such a cruel persecuting bill, as that now before us, but forms the warmest wishes for the liberty and happiness of every individual of this late flourishing empire. Universal benevolence, and a generous spirit of humanity, have been no less the characteristics of the inhabitants of the southern parts of this island, than that good nature, for which foreigners have not even a name. I will only add, Sir, that I think the most beautiful sentence of all antiquity is that which was received with such applause by the generous and free Roman people, and an English senate I am sure will adopt against every measure of oppression and cruelty—*Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto.*

Right hon. Mr. R. Rigby said, he sincerely wished for the general suspension of the *habeas corpus* act, which, in his opinion, was necessary to be extended to Great Britain, and that too as fully as in 1745. At the latter period, he said the rebels in this country avowed their principles; they appeared in arms, and conducted themselves as honest, though mistaken men. Now, the secret enemies of government conducted themselves in a different manner. They gave their assistance covertly in the dark. They feared the open day, and skulked behind quibbles in law, and all the insidious arts of concealed faction and sedition. He observed, that it had been frequently objected to the present administration, by the gentlemen in opposition, that they had not employed a force against America sufficiently powerful; at other times that they had put the nation to an unnecessary expense. What attention such men deserved, might be easily gathered from this wavering disposition. He trusted that administration would not give way on the present occasion. He did not think that the bill wanted any amendment, and he should be sorry to see its friends assent to any proposition coming from that quarter, because he could never discover any one principle of action in the supporters of the present clause, but that of a fixed indiscriminate opposition, right or wrong, to every measure proposed by the King's servants.

Mr. Fox, after reprobating the principle of the bill, and declaring that he thought, if even the clause were agreed to as first moved, he would be called on to give the bill a most hearty negative; said he must desire to draw the attention  
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of the House to the conduct of the court of France respecting our disputes with America. He affirmed, from his own knowledge, that we were on the eve of a war with France, immediately preceding the meeting of the present session, in the month of October. He was of opinion, that administration were extremely negligent and inattentive in respect of home security and national defence, particularly in not calling out and embodying the militia, when it was well known in what a defenceless state we were at the time; and still, he was sorry to say, continued to be. At present the disposition of France, he allowed, was much changed. The courts of Versailles and Madrid, whatever their latent or remote intentions may be, take care carefully to conceal one, or have prudently postponed the other, which was the most probable supposition, till they were sufficiently prepared to strike a decisive, perhaps a fatal blow, which was certainly not the case at present. Their peaceable demeanour, their promises and appearances, were most assuredly the consequence of necessity, not choice. The disposition of the French nation in general; the sentiments of such as turned their thoughts to foreign politics, respecting the civil war in America, bear testimony, how much they engrossed what they look upon as a matter that promises to be extremely favourable to their interests in the final event. He had other proofs, which shewed the conclusion now made, in a much more clear manner; that was, the disposition of the French cabinet, which daily manifested itself in a variety of circumstances. He did not mean to enter into details: but the facts he was about to mention, were important, and such too, as would not leave a doubt of their apparent tendency; that was, the conduct of the French ministry to two of the members of the American Congress, now resident at Paris, Doctor Franklin and Mr. Silas Deane. He was warranted in affirming from his own knowledge, that they both appeared publicly at Paris and Versailles; they were known to hold conferences with the King's ministers, to treat and negotiate with them, and to be received by them substantially on the same footing as the representatives of any independent power in Christendom. The correspondence held between them was of the same nature with that usually carried on between two powers, where one of them seeks for assistance, and the other, from motives of policy, listens, deliberates, and determines, upon the propriety or impropriety of adopting the schemes, or entering into the measures of the power

which thus applies for succour. Sometimes Franklin and Deane received greater encouragement, at other times less, according to the tone of the court, and the prevailing sentiments and opinions at the time. But however these might vary, one important truth might be gathered from the whole, that France was secretly hostile to Great Britain; that she publicly or privately received, treated, and negotiated with the members of the American Congress, or with persons authorized and deputed for them. He next attacked what he called the shameful, disgraceful, and improbable falsehoods that the only paper published by authority in this country is filled with, upon every occasion, given in the accounts received from America. He said, he had been in company, at Paris, with an American lately arrived in that capital, who informed him that our London Gazette gives long details, from time to time, of successes gained by our troops, which never had any existence but on paper. He assured me, in particular, the lists of the killed, wounded, and prisoners, since the commencement of the campaign, amounted to nearly as many as the Congress had enlisted, mustered, or arrayed; but as the nation were to have something in return for the blood and treasure so shamefully lavished on our side, something to balance against new debts, accompanied with new taxes, he could not say but he much approved of the device, as he was infinitely better pleased to see men killed upon paper, than be convinced that they fell in battle. He then took a general view of the situation of affairs in America, the state of the respective armies, their number, &c. and contended, from the present appearance of affairs in that country, we were no nearer conquering America now, than we were three years ago. If it could ever be effected, he was satisfied it would be the work of time, perhaps of many campaigns. Though France had altered her intention of taking an early and decided part, and would not venture to break with us, till her navy should be put upon a respectable footing, yet a peace resting on so precarious a foundation, was in fact no peace, and was more hurtful, in its remote consequences, than war actually declared.—The Dutch were nearly twenty years struggling against their tyrannic oppressors, before they procured any assistance from foreign states; our strength would be therefore gradually decreasing, and we might probably find ourselves engaged in a bloody and expensive war, when we least expected it, and were least prepared for it.

Mr.

Mr. *Dunning* said he should give one proof of his sincerity, by agreeing with the amendment (moved by Mr. Cornwall), though he was far from approving of it entirely; yet it was better than nothing; and though the general expression, "out of the realm," might be interpreted in such a manner as just to mean what ministers pleased, he was glad to have the extreme rigour of the clause qualified in any manner. He could not help observing, notwithstanding all that had fallen from the other side, both as to the intention and construction of the bill, it was never designed nor meant to be interpreted as a law for securing, detaining, or punishing persons charged, suspected, or convicted of offences or crimes specifically committed in North America, or on the high seas.

Mr. *Wilmot* lamented the present horrid situation of America; said, he thought this war might have been prevented in the outset, and hoped might still be put an end to, without any derogation of the honour, dignity, or even interest of Great Britain: but that, whatever were the causes, the sword was now drawn by America; and that, therefore, whilst that sword remained unsheathed, he sincerely wished success to his own country, though he could not think it free from error. That he felt upon the occasion as he should do if a dagger was held to his father's breast; that, in that moment, he should forget his parent's blame, defend him from its attack, and reflect only on the greater blame of the person who held it. That the situation we are in towards America could not have been foreseen, and therefore no provision was made for it by the laws at present in force. That this bill answered the purpose, and being freed from the objection to it, had his hearty concurrence.

The *Attorney General* (Mr. *Thurlow*) observed, that he had been described as the framer of the bill, with some little assistance, however, from his friend near him; and, on that ground, made responsible for its contents. Be that as it may, he still retained his former opinion; he never had a second on the subject. He was aware of the great talents and professional knowledge of his learned friend who moved the clause, and who had entertained the House so ably on the supposed contradiction between the title and the bill itself. With all his industry and attention, both of which, in the present case, he was by no means sparing of, he could not discover any such contradiction. The bill was meant to punish, or prevent crimes, committed in America, or on the high seas. Does the

bill hold a different language? Is it because a person is not personally present in either of the places described, that he may not be guilty of treason? Certainly not. If that was the case, no accomplice in treason, who was now in open arms, or concerned in the scene then passing, could be brought to punishment. He begged leave to repeat what he said he had given so frequently as his opinion since the first introduction of the bill into the House—it was formed on the purest principles of constitutional law; that he was convinced it would stand the test of time and observation; and that, if it was defective in any respect, it was because it did not go far enough.—He then quoted several instances, in which the suspension of the *habeas corpus* act had taken place; and referred to the celebrated case of Sir William Wyndham, who was denied the benefit of the *habeas corpus* act on bare suspicion; and after solemn argument in the court of King's Bench, the judges were unanimously of opinion, that he should be remanded to the Tower; and that the ground of commitment was good. He contended, that the idea was a legal and constitutional one; and that the claim to exercise it, on the present occasion, was sound law, and perfectly consonant to the principles of the constitution. He added, that it had been a prevailing custom, since the introduction of the present measure into the House, to blend in every debate and conversation which arose on it, personal allusions, personal charges, and certain political doctrines, little connected with the subject matter. Whatever portion of them were intended for him, he was totally indifferent about. He was conscious of his own motives. He flattered himself, he had always acted an uniform, consistent part. He was determined to pursue the same line of conduct to the end; and on the whole, he did not think it a very fair mode of procedure, to discredit a measure merely on personal considerations, applying, or supposed to apply to some of those who most warmly supported it.

Mr. *Dunning* replied to the Attorney General, both in respect of the bill, and as to the latter part of the Attorney's speech, which he supposed was directly levelled at himself. He observed, that he must be very ignorant indeed of the laws and constitution of this country, and of the real purport of the bill, who could resort to personal allusions to the framers of it, instead of drawing arguments against it from the bill itself. No man questioned the personal integrity, uniformity of conduct, or immaculate intentions of its friends. It was the bill, the uses that might be made of it,  
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the unprecedented powers it delegated, without a single proof, or colour of proof, of the necessity of such a delegation, that called forth his opposition. He applauded the learned gentleman's firmness; he had a very high opinion of his professional knowledge; yet, however firm and knowing he was, there were still some of his friends who thought the bill went too far; the very amendment made to the clause now offered, was the clearest testimony that there existed such a description of men among his friends; and the sentiments of a great lawyer [Mr. Morton], in the committee, proved that there were, even among his learned brethren, some odd kind of men, who differed from him, independent of any personal allusion to his integrity, uniformity of conduct, or political principles.

The *Attorney General* said he intended no particular application of what had fallen from him. That his friends or adversaries might think as they pleased; every man was free to think for himself; of course he was at liberty to hold his first opinion, and to avow it, which was, that the bill was necessary, and that it was unobjectionable in its first formation, as well as amended state. He observed, that it was a very unusual thing to debate a bill in this stage; that many opportunities had presented themselves since its first introduction into the House; on the second reading in the committee, and on the report; but all these opportunities were partly passed over, and administration were now called on to defend and amend a bill in a stage, in which, if debated at all, it is scarcely or ever offered to be amended.

Colonel *Luttrell* thought the bill extremely necessary at this time, and its operation in this kingdom and Ireland much wanted. He informed the House, that a ship, loaded with fire-arms and warlike stores, and ammunition of all kinds, intended for America, was seized in the port of Dublin. The merchants who were the owners of the stores, and the actors in this treasonable transaction, were apprehended, and yet, for want of a law of this kind, the traitors were bailed, and permitted to escape with impunity. He wished sincerely, if they had not escaped beyond the reach of justice, that this bill might take cognizance of their crimes, and that they might meet that exemplary and condign punishment which they manifestly merited.

Honourable *James Luttrell* replied, that strong facts made easy to the humblest comprehension, taught him to differ so widely in opinion from his honourable relation [Col. *Luttrell*],

trell], and made him feel such contrary sentiments to those which that honourable member had expressed, that he was necessitated to persevere in voting in opposition to him. That there is an act of Parliament to prevent the shipping of warlike stores to America; that if the law is not clear in pointing out the means of punishing such offenders, it may be necessary to make one for that purpose; but that there is great difference between making laws to punish the guilty, and breaking laws which our excellent constitution has provided for the protection of the innocent. That if the proposed clause was agreed to by the noble Lord [Lord North], it would retrieve the liberty of the subject on this side the Atlantic, and perhaps check, for a while, the arbitrary spirit of those who wished the bill to pass without the clause. But that as he could conceive no state of perfection in a bill of that despotic nature, to recommend it to the representatives of the people, he should not enter into refinements of the law, nor cavil upon words, but object to the whole of the bill, as an iniquitous and daring attack upon the Palladium of English liberty; and observed, that if this was the first-fruits of victories in America, we must expect to recover our colonies at the expense of *Magna Charta*. He proceeded to observe, that after the very strong censure passed by a right honourable gentleman [Mr. Rigby] on the members of opposition, who had contended for the constitutional freedom of the subject in every part of the British empire; he must consider such declamation as meant to open an extensive field of American debate, and therefore thought it his duty to say a few words in behalf of an injured people, whom he conceived never yet to have had it in their power to return to their allegiance without either submitting themselves to vassalage, or being condemned to death. He then entered into the origin and pursuit of the war, as the great object of parliamentary consideration; praised the valour of the British forces and their leaders, but lamented that the House continued to meet for little else than to frame bills of hatred, instead of restoring laws which were for the mutual advantage of Great Britain and America. That he had often thought the loss of empire would not be more disgraceful to British subjects, than the loss of freedom; but that he neither wished to establish a republican, nor an arbitrary system of government. The question of the times he apprehended to imply, whether it can possibly be for the advantage of America to relieve her from one species of calamity, only to subject her to another?

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and whether it is wise in us to rejoice at an increase of power to tyrannize, when it sets a dangerous precedent to bring home to ourselves the same military enforcement of ministerial injustice, as that which marks the despotic principles, the rise and progress of the whole American war? That he certainly should not rejoice at any victory, till government prove they mean to end the war with more justice than they began it. He then proceeded as follows :

If I were to join in claiming a right of taxation over the Americans, consistently with those acts which occasioned the civil war, it is plain to every capacity that it must be unlimited and unconditional; for certain it is, that government taxed the Americans without their consent, at a time when there was no desperate plea of necessity which threatened the safety of this kingdom; let it be remembered, that we were then highly respected abroad, rich in commerce and prosperity at home, with every advantage of profound peace.

The exercise of unlimited taxation may mark this for a House of American delegates, by American pensions, but that people can only continue to elect their own legal \* representatives to record a lost constitution. Nor could I conceive that our liberties were not endangered, when so desperate an attempt was formed to break the spirit of a people like ourselves, who would not tamely submit to be treated as inferior subjects, in point of constitutional representatives, and the blessings of limited monarchy.

It is a maxim stated by a noble and distinguished political writer [Lord Bolingbroke], that "whatever be the fate of particular persons, houses, or families, the liberty of the subject should be immortal." But we have seen three millions of subjects condemned unheard, and the faith of this nation broke, in order to support the powerful faction of a few great families placed near the throne; themselves exclaiming in both Houses of Parliament, to have recourse to arms, to justify such proceedings as they were conscious must be condemned by every possible idea of civil right which constitutes us a free people.

The Americans, driven and necessitated to resist such arbitrary power, might well forget the respect which we are pleased to suppose was due to the mother-country; when, instead of considering their addresses to the crown, you proceeded to destroy their trade, laid waste their country, and

\* The members of their House of Assembly are chosen for counties and boroughs, by the same mode of election as our own.

totally

totally abdicated that government, there surely remained little reason to justify such conduct, whether the Americans should declare themselves independent, or only unsubdued.

I have always thought it expedient for government to treat with the Congress, because it is easier to explain differences to a dozen of people, than to three millions. Considering them as messengers from a vast body of subjects, I think they should be treated with, listened to, and answered; neither could the employing of them as peace-makers, upon constitutional principles, be establishing their authority to rule over their fellow-subjects; or possibly confine the injuries done to all Americans, merely to the persons of the Congress; therefore their virtues or their vices I neither praise nor censure; for I contend that the arbitrary maxims adopted, and obstinately persisted in by government, were the sole origin of the civil war, and to this day prevent the re-establishment of peace. I am very far from attributing so general a revolt to the ingenious abilities of a few very private gentlemen. Restore upon a solid basis the faith of this nation towards the inhabitants of that great continent; give up such measures as are only consistent with narrow minds, court jantos, and despotic principles; desist from persecutions which had lighted up a spirit of resentment sufficient to warm the hearts of three millions of subjects, the Congress would then soon sink into their original station of private citizens.

I judge the ministers to be dangerous servants to the state, not only by their repeated arbitrary declarations, but by strong facts which have arisen out of their own conduct, and which they dare the subject to counteract. The war is theirs, and the peace is to be theirs. We have charters to defend our liberties, and so once had the Americans; and there is more to be apprehended from such ministers, when in prosperity, than in adversity. Therefore it is our duty to look to the use that will be made of the boasted victories, before we are in love with the sound of them. I look upon legions of conquerors, and legions of tax-gatherers, in a very different light: the former they wisely hold up for our admiration, but the latter suit their views, their principles, and determinations. To be separated for ever from America, endangers our liberties and the happiness of every individual in this kingdom, much less than giving to the crown the rights and free privileges of subjects who must become more numerous than ourselves. I therefore contend, that the attempts of government to claim a right of oppressing the subject, situated however distant from the capital, or varnished over with any pretence



pretence whatsoever, ought to be opposed for the good of the whole empire. For there can be no natural divisions, no slavish distinctions constituted amongst us, without its ending in destroying the freedom of the whole. The same motives which might induce a king to side with us to enslave and oppress the Americans, may find a king to watch their growing strength, and then side with that people to reduce us to an ignominious level with themselves. Had the friends of liberty been fewer in numbers and strength than those bred up in popery and Tory principles, during the reign of James the Second, that monarch had been absolute. It was an injured people firmly bound together, that shewed strength sufficient to drive that tyrant from the throne, and secured to us those rights of mankind which add dignity to human nature; under which the whole empire flourished; and, till we are a divided people, all kings will look upon our liberties with jealousy, but not with contempt.

The shadow of a pretence was at last thrown out, that terms of peace had been offered [by Lord Howe's proclamation] upon constitutional principles; but when the motion made by a noble Lord [Lord J. Cavendish] to ascertain the fact was taken into parliamentary consideration, the mask of state hypocrisy was thrown off, and the Tory features of government's instruction to the commissioners fully exposed.

The pretended delicacy of treating with the Congress was equally an imposition upon men's understanding; for there are no proper persons to treat with, when you have nothing to offer! And surely if bribing a few, and condemning the rest to vassalage, upon pain of death, can be construed constitutional terms of peace, they were extracted from the Hessian, not the English laws.

I own, Sir, I feel for the Americans, if our boasted force of arms can drive them to look up to those ministers for mercy and redress, who have plundered and betrayed them, and whose first proof of integrity consists in declaring they will not bind themselves to do one act of justice towards that country. Such, fairly stated, is implied by unconditional submission; terms, not only unworthy the injured Americans to listen to, but such as ought to strike every Englishman with indignation; to hear a language held for our gracious Sovereign, more becoming some conquering tyrant and usurper, than the father of his people, and the sworn assertor of the laws [*vide coronation oath*].

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I must observe, that the new titles and favours bestowed on the supporters of this war, are not marks to discern the well-wishers towards America; neither can much clemency and protection be expected from those members who have been most expert at teaching us that pleasantry is preferable to humanity; that loyalty consists in risking the loss of half an empire, by acts of violence and oppression; or have distinguished themselves by jesting over scenes, which, from their horrors and injustice, even the savage Indian may have shed a tear upon.

Such men and such measures I have opposed, and trust that I have stated sufficient grounds of justification for the strongest opposition to a war, which evidently appears to have for its principal object, arbitrary power, supported by private avarice, and ambition; not public spirit, I may add not loyalty; for though the language of tyranny may flatter the passions of a monarch, and gain some earldoms and some contracts, yet, Sir, the loyal language of a Briton to his Sovereign ought to consist in the welfare and affections of his subjects, which cannot be separated from his views, without making life a burden to himself as well as to them.

I shall always wish to address myself with proper respect towards every member here, conscious, that were the same individuals assembled in any other House than a House of Parliament, no man would take his station amongst them with more humility than I would; but in this public cause, when the unjust massacre of thousands of fellow-subjects, whose lives ought to have been held as sacred as our own, calls aloud for redress; and when the result of our unrelenting councils may be graven on the tombs of thousands more, it is a time to speak a plain and determined language; therefore, if I should deviate a little from etiquette, I flatter myself the importance of the object will plead my excuse; that object is peace and commerce with America, which cannot be obtained by unconditional submission, nor by these detestable repeated acts of violence, hatred, and oppression, but rather by dropping the point of the bloody sword; until America shall refuse the olive-branch, placed on a constitutional code of laws, such as is neither unworthy the Americans to live under, nor Great Britain to offer.

Mr. Cornwall, to explain, said, without his amendment, a person had only to take a passage of a few hours to enable him to give the rebels in America every assistance in his power, and

and return again to this country, without a possibility of control or detection by any means short of legal proof.

Mr. *Serjeant Adair* condemned the principle of the bill at large, and congratulated the learned gentleman who moved the clause, on the truth of his predictions, for he had at length produced two events equally worthy of observation; he had caused the difference of opinion among the crown lawyers to be made manifest, and caused the mask to be drawn aside, and the intentions of the framers of the bill to be publicly exposed in all their naked deformity.

Mr. *Burrel* spoke a few words in favour of the bill.

Right hon. *T. Townshend* said, it was neither unusual nor uncommon to debate bills on the third reading; nay, even to add clauses, by way of rider, after the principle of the bill had received the approbation of both Houses. He could not therefore conceive on what ground the learned gentleman (the Attorney General) could seem surprised, at what, which if not every day's practice, was nevertheless the constant practice and usage of Parliament. As to the bill itself, it was no wonder that gentlemen should be staggered when the crown lawyers were known to have differed so materially in opinion. Men not bred to the profession of the law, ought to reflect and consider seriously what they were about to do, when the very learned gentleman (Mr. Morton) who came with the best dispositions to support the measure, stopped short, and refused to go the length that other gentlemen, perhaps not less learned, but more sanguine, were willing to do. In such a state of things, and diversity of opinion, he hoped the House would again consider the very extensive and unprecedented powers meant to be lodged in the hands of the crown by this bill; and if they should think the principle of the bill necessary to be supported, that they would agree to the clause offered by his learned friend, at least to the amendment proposed by the honourable gentleman on the Treasury Bench.

Mr. *Kyner* said he did not intend to speak in the debate; yet when he considered the very great and singular importance of the question now before the House, he could not content himself with giving a silent vote; he should, therefore, say a few words on the occasion, to declare his hearty and entire approbation of the clause offered by the learned gentleman (Mr. Dunning) near him. He was always ready, he trusted no man in that House more so, to support administration when they were right. He hoped his sentiments, particularly respecting American affairs, were sufficiently known; but accord-

ing to the present appearance of things, according to the avowed and ostensible motives urged for passing this bill, he was yet to learn on what reasonable or even plausible ground administration could refuse the clause, much less the amendment. He wished, however, before he sat down, to be perfectly understood, that his opinion respecting the present bill did not at all interfere or affect his general sentiments respecting the present unnatural rebellion raging in America.

Lord *North* rose to exculpate administration from having an intention of introducing any unconstitutional precedents, or of desiring any powers to be entrusted either to the crown or them, which could be employed to oppressive or bad purposes. In answer to Mr. Fox, he assured the House, that he had received no account of any foreign state having assisted America with arms, or any kind of naval or military stores. He believed the contrary to be the case, and must have heard if they had. Probably enough, the French and Dutch merchants, as objects of commercial profit, may have supplied the colonies, and been guilty of this species of prohibited commerce; but he imagined he might say with certainty, that no traffic of this kind had been carried on under the sanction of either of the powers mentioned, or indeed by any other. He observed, that great objections had been made to the powers now intended to be delegated. He was sorry that such a jealousy should be entertained on any side of the House. He was certain that they fell considerably short of those granted on similar occasions; at all events, he imagined that the clause, as offered to be amended by his honourable friend near him, would completely remove every solid ground of objection.

Mr. *Adam* in favour of the bill, as it stood before the clause was moved. He coincided entirely in opinion with the Attorney General, that the clause was not wanting; and that even without it, the bill did not go far enough; that the present critical state of affairs rendered it necessary that the most ample and decisive clear powers should be vested in the crown, in order to crush and eradicate the unnatural and unprovoked rebellion now raging in America. He contended, that the powers now sought, should have been applied for much earlier, and affirmed, if they had, that the war we were now unhappily waging with our own subjects, would have been long since extinguished. Indecisive measures, indecisively executed, were the leading characteristics of the present administration, at least of some, who had power and influence enough,

enough, to counteract such as were firm and decisive; and he could not help observing and lamenting, that a greater curse could not befall a country, than fluctuating and divided councils. Divided as we were in Cabinet and Parliament, it was natural to expect that we must feel the fatal effects of such divisions, in the field, and every intermediate step that led to it.

*General Conway* said, that administration had not only gone far enough, but beyond far enough; they had not only been decisive, but he feared much too decisive. It was impossible for them, in his opinion, to be more obstinate and unrelenting than they had already proved themselves to be; or to resort to harsher means than they had all along steadily pursued. The whole train of measures, from the commencement, was a succession of acts, all seeming to tend to one favourite object, that of driving America to despair; and from acts committed under the force of that despair, gradually to compel them from dutiful remonstrance to factious and seditious resolves; from these to the cruel necessity of taking up arms to defend their natural, chartered, and constitutional rights; and at length, in the height of political rage and desperation, to throw off and dissolve all bands of legal government, by leaving them no other alternative but rank slavery or independency. Those means of recovering America having hitherto proved unsuccessful, he was astonished that we still continued to adhere to them. He affirmed, that we were now, and he would venture to do so from the best authority, no nearer making a conquest of America, than we were twelve months ago; and that, probably, if we persisted another year in the same system of politics, France, when she found this country sufficiently weakened and exhausted both in men and money, would take an occasion to break with us; and we should probably, in such an event, find ourselves engaged in a war with the united powers of France, Spain, Naples, Sardinia, and the emperor, without a single ally strong enough to counterbalance such a junction of all the great powers of the southern part of Europe. He could not sit down, he said, without observing, that after all which ministers had promised, nothing yet had been performed, in respect of the terms we were willing to grant to the colonies: how, then, was it possible to effect that favourite measure, of dividing and commanding? America must unconditionally submit, or agree to terms; no terms having been offered on our part, the alternative was evidently simple despotism or simple con-

quest. It was therefore absurd to talk of dividing the Congress, or separating the people from the Congress, because, by the present conduct of administration, they did not permit a second party to subsist in America. His opinion, he assured the House, was neither founded in a mere spirit of opposition, or any other improper or interested motives. He was sure it was pure; he was certain it was uniform; and he had great reason to dread, that the final event of the present cruel and unnatural civil war, would prove that his fears and predictions were too well founded.

Mr. *Adam*, to explain the words *far enough*. He said, he did not mean to use that phrase in the loose, undefined manner, it had been construed by the honourable gentleman who spoke last. He meant substantially to say, that the measures now pursuing by government would have been more efficacious, in all probability, had they been taken up earlier; and, when they were taken up, had they been carried into execution with more spirit and alacrity. No man was farther from approving of sanguinary measures than he; and he always thought that the surest means in such cases, of preventing the effusion of blood, and all the dire calamities of a civil war, were by adopting vigorous measures in time, and executing them seasonably.

Mr. *Dunning* to explain. He was glad to learn, that administration had in some measure deserted the bill; he hoped they would desert the amendment too. However, divided as they were, if they should insist on both this night, it would produce a phenomenon in politics, a deserted bill, and a divided ministry, carrying a question which scarcely two of them were agreed in, and which almost every individual of them had virtually deserted.

Mr. *Solicitor General* made several observations on the intelligence given by his honourable friend (Mr. Fox). He said, the information given by that gentleman, and every argument drawn from it, furnished so many stronger motives, in his opinion, for agreeing with the bill, and rejecting both the clause and amendment: he had told the House, (and who could doubt so good an authority?) that two of the members of the Congress were at Paris, and that they were received in a public character, in the light of envoys, or ministers, armed with full powers from an independent state, treating upon preliminaries for a permanent and solemn communication and guarantee of their respective interests. He was witty on his old colleague,

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and was extremely liberal of the word rebellious, treasonable, rebel Congress, on fallen America, &c. He said, he did not see any necessity for either the clause or amendment, yet he should not be against, nay he had no objection to it, if its friends had been contented with carrying it early in the day; but as the gentlemen who moved and supported it, had been indulged with an acquiescence on the part of administration, and still continued to debate the principle of the bill, he should now most certainly vote against it.

Mr. Fox said, he admired the candour and condescension of his learned friend, in granting the favour of permitting the clause to make part of the bill, if the terms in which the favour had been asked had been accompanied with that degree of gratitude and submission the granting so high a boon deserved; if the debate had not been prolonged to this late hour, when it might be supposed the learned gentleman's presence might be more useful, and more eagerly sought. Yet, upon consideration, nice as the learned gentleman's feelings were, eager as he was to get out of the crowd, careless as he was of his duty in that House, and indifferent as he seemed to the consequences of the bill; in either or any event, he imagined his resentments against conquered America, his native hatred of rebellion, his zeal for government, and his personal loyalty to the family on the throne, might have been in some degree gratified, without pushing this bill to the extent he seemed to desire.—It might allay the learned gentleman's thirst for public chastisement, and exemplary punishment, when he could satisfy himself with the pleasing reflection that seven rebels were shovelled into a room at New York, and there burnt to death; or if that was not sufficient, another gentleman, still, if possible, more zealous and loyal [Mr. Adam], might feast himself with contemplating the glorious deed daily and hourly achieved in our southern colonies and back settlements, where the savages came down in great numbers (if the accounts received by administration themselves from that country are to be depended on), and massacred the innocent settlers in cold blood; and the slaves were meritoriously employed in the murder of their unprepared, unsuspecting masters, through the encouragement of an administration which had been this day so unjustly arraigned, as sluggish and inert, as wanting spirit and alacrity, in the glorious work of blood and carnage; of

planning nothing but tame, indecisive measures, still more tamely and indecisively executed.

The question was put on Mr. Dunning's motion, as amended by Mr. Cornwall, and agreed to without a division.

As soon as the clause was read a second time, and agreed to, Mr. Fox rose, and wished the House much joy, and felicitated the nation in general on the escape they had from, at least, a state of temporary tyrannic dominion, which perhaps, all in good time, was meant to be rendered perpetual. He congratulated the minority in particular, on their success this day; who, he said, had corrected this very reprehensible bill; though a minority, they had accomplished this alteration; the ministers were not only convinced, but ashamed, and had accepted of the alteration. It was no compliment to their friends the majority, for they were ready to pass the bill as it was brought in. It was the minority, he repeated, who, though a minority, had corrected this bill, which the noble Lord had brought in crude and indigested, imperfect and erroneous. The noble Lord was obliged to his friends the minority, for digesting, altering, and correcting his bill, not to his friends the majority, who were ready to swallow it with all its original crudities, cruelties, and errors. He then enlarged in an humorous, ironical strain, on the power of the learned gentleman [Solicitor General] who threatened to damn the clause totally, and blow it out of the House, if he was longer teased with the noise and nonsense of his opponents, and detained from his social enjoyments half or a quarter of an hour beyond his time; and painted his own fears very humorously, lest some of the over-zealous friends of the clause should rise, and provoke the learned gentleman to carry his threats into execution. He was two or three times rising to speak, he said, but happily repressed his feelings, as he watched the countenance of the learned gentleman, and imagined he could perceive a glow of honest zeal and determined resentment overspread it, which denoted the most inevitable destruction to the clause, and terror, dismay, and defeat to all its supporters. He said, he must seriously congratulate the House, and the nation at large, on the preservation of the constitutional freedom of this country, from the stab that had been predetermined, and covertly aimed at its inmost vitals, by the bill as it stood before the clause was agreed to; for if it had passed in that form, he could with confidence affirm, that no Englishman, as long as it remained in force, and God knows how long that



that might be, would have had the shadow of liberty left, or could be a minute secure against the most cruel attacks of public oppression, or private malice and revenge. He then argued against the principle of the bill, and said it was a dangerous and unnecessary bill, even in its amended state; that still any man, who for pleasure or business happened to be out of the realm, lay at the mercy of ministers, his private enemies, or of public informers. On the whole, his fears being at an end respecting the clause, he was now at liberty to express his sentiments freely; and under that sanction he totally disapproved of the principle of the bill and of the clause; he looked upon the bill as a dangerous precedent in times to come; and learning the true disposition and design of administration, from their conduct throughout, he should give the bill a most hearty negative.

Mr. *Cornwall* said, though he had some time since been for the alteration, he should now beg leave to retract his words; it was not an unprecedented circumstance; many gentlemen had done it (upon former occasions) as well as he.

Lord *North* said, he was for the alteration with the amendment, as expressing more clearly what was meant and intended by the bill.

The Solicitor General [*Mr. Wedderburne*] to explain. He denied the interpretation that had been put on his words, by the honourable gentleman [*Mr. Fox*]. He gave him credit for his wit, his humour, and flow of imagery and expression; but very little for his arguments or facts. What he had said imported no more than this, that the learned gentleman who moved the clause seemed to be contented, at least tolerably satisfied, with the amendment moved by his honourable friend; that the explanation given, was seemingly the proper object of debate; yet, after the explanation so given and approved of by the learned gentleman who moved the clause, gentlemen continued to debate upon other matters totally foreign to the question before the House, and continued to urge arguments against the bill. As this seemed to be the prevailing opinion of those who opposed the bill, and for his part it was his opinion, as well as that of most of his friends, that no such clause, mended or unamended, was necessary; he thought and he believed very justly, that as the honourable gentleman and his friends disliked and opposed the whole bill, the question might be put on the clause, and, if he negatived, then its friends would

be just as they were willing to be; they would be at liberty to try their numbers merely on the third reading.

Rt. hon. *T. Townshend* denied the conclusions drawn by the learned gentleman who spoke last. He said, the gentlemen on his side of the House might disapprove of the bill, the clause, and amendment; and yet wish, if the bill must pass, to have the rigour of it qualified, and rendered less noxious and mischievous. He could easily conceive, without any great store of professional knowledge, by the aid of his own experience, that a person might disapprove of a bill, or think it unnecessary; that a clause might be moved to take the sting out of it; that an amendment might be moved to that clause, which considerably abated its value; and yet, if by the strength of numbers he foresaw the bill would pass, he might be against the amendment and the bill, and still wish and vote for retaining the clause, though, on the ultimate question, he was predetermined to give a negative to the third reading. Such was precisely the predicament he stood in himself, and supposed that many of his friends stood in the same; consequently he could neither adopt the reasoning nor deduction of the learned gentleman who spoke last; for he could easily reconcile his disapprobation of the bill and amendment to his hearty approbation of the clause.

Sir *George Savile* expressed the pleasure he enjoyed on what (all circumstances considered) he deemed a victory over some who would wish to establish a species of dominion in this country, more oppressive and arbitrary than what was endured by the subjects of any despotic country in Europe. He assigned his reasons why he thought so, and sat down with declaring, that he should give his negative against the third reading of the bill.

The clause, or rather rider, being agreed to, the question was put, on the third reading, and the House divided; ayes 112; noes 35. After which, the question was put, "That this bill do pass," which was agreed to without a division.

Ordered,

Ordered, that there be laid before the House an account of the investment of 799,973l. 18s. 5d. in the purchase of Spanish and Portugal coins, for the use and service of his Majesty's forces in North America. Agreeable to this order, the following paper was laid upon the table.

-1776.				£. s. d. per cent.				£. s. d.			
Jan. Bills drawn from								Silver 244735½ oz. at 5s. 4d.			
Boston 36678 13 7 at 120								Gold 5042 oz. at 77s. 9d.			
Do. 5590 6 6 123½								Ditto 14887 oz. 14 dwts. 18 grs.			
Do. 1263 0 0 130								at 77s. 11d.			
Do. 43532 0 1								Ditto 15595 oz. 0 dwts. 12 grs.			
at par 260 0 0								at 78s. 2d.			
Do. do. 9479 0 0								Ditto 23916 oz. 16 dwts. 18 grs.			
Halifax. do. 384 0 0								at 78s. 6d.			
Do. do. 39447 5 3								Guineas			
Quebec under par 11½ 3600 0 0											
Halifax at par 27566 9 9											
Staten Island. do. 30388 7 2											
Quebec. do. 8600 0 0											
Do. do. 2886 9 1											

February 18.

No debate.

February 19.

The House in committee on allowing lumber to be carried in British ships to the West India islands.

Mr. Pennant in the chair.

Mr. *Alexander Douglas*.

Q. Is he acquainted with the present state of the West-India islands?

A. I have seen letters from thence.

Q. Has he any estate there?

A. Yes.

Q. What are his present concerns in the islands?

A. I have an estate in Grenada and Tobago. I have lived twenty years in St. Kitts.

Q. What is the present price of slaves in the West-India islands?

A. I saw a letter, dated December last, from St. Christopher's, it was not directed to me; in which the writer says, that he bought slaves at 15l. per 1000 currency, and could sell them for 30l. and deals at 25l. and could sell them for 50l.

Q. Does he mean those slaves for rum, or for sugar casks?

A. Don't know which.

Q. How much are slaves raised in price within these two years?

A. Now between 17l. and 18l. sterling; and even those are bad, and won't answer the purpose: the same two years ago were sold at 6l.

Q. Is any scarcity of slaves apprehended?

A. I saw a letter from St. Christopher's, from a manager there, that he has not a slave left, and none to be procured for money. The letter was dated 28 December.

Q. Whether the cultivation of the islands will not be highly affected by the want of slaves?

A. Certainly will; every thing of lumber there is as three or four to one of what it was.

Q. Does he not know that the sale of slaves is as much lessened of late?

A. Yes; the price is much fallen.

Q. Does not the high price of slaves disable the planters from giving so high a price for slaves?

A. Yes. No plantation can be carried on at the price slaves now are.

Q. Has

**Q.** Has he been used to import into the West-India islands linens from Europe?

**A.** Formerly.

**Q.** What sort were used?

**A.** The linens used there were chiefly from Ireland.

**Q.** Are any linens from the Baltic or Stetin much used there?

**A.** Some: but a very trifle, unless by a lady that now and then smuggles a piece. We can be supplied by the Dutch and French with foreign linen.

**Q.** Whether suppose the West-India islands can be supplied with staves for dry goods, can they be supplied with casks for rum?

**A.** We have tried, but can't find any wood for making the rum casks.

**Q.** Whence are you supplied with the sugar casks?

**A.** I apprehend chiefly from hence of late, since the American supply was stopped. I heard of a few from Halifax, and a few from the Mississippi; but I don't understand they can be many. Our accounts from the West-India islands are very different; some say there is no want; others say, there is no supply. I believe the want is very great.

**Q.** From whence did the staves come before the present troubles?

**A.** From New York and Philadelphia; from the latter by far the greatest number. The accounts from the same islands are very different; but the price shews the want.

Withdrew.

**Mr. Molyneux**, a member in his place, being asked as to the state of the islands, reads a letter, dated Jan. 1, 1777.

"I am in daily expectation of the arrival of the plantation stores—Provisions, boards, and staves, are much wanted; the two latter more particularly so, as there is not any on your property: if they do not appear soon, I shall be at a stand, as there is none to be purchased here at any price whatsoever.

"Signed, J. CONSTABLE.

"Directed to W. COLHOUN, Esq."

*Christopher Heineken*, slave merchant.

**Q.** From what part of Europe does he import staves?

**A.** From Stetin and Hamburgh, and the other ports of the Baltic.

**Q.** Has not a great increase of staves been required for the use of the public?

**A.** Yes;

A. Yes; for sending provisions to the army in America.

Q. Has there not been a great increase of the demand for the use of the West-India islands?

A. Yes.

Q. Whether all those demands have not increased the price?

A. Yes, very greatly.

Q. In what proportion in the last two years?

A. Thirty or forty per cent.

Q. Has he imported any slaves from the Mediterranean?

A. No.

Q. Whether he gives direction for the size?

A. No.

Q. If he did, would they send them of those sizes?

A. No—not at first.

Q. Whether an order to send them of half the thickness, would be complied with?

A. No—I believe they would not be put out of their way.

Q. Not in time?

A. I hardly think they could.

Q. Are the Hamburgh staves sawed or split?

A. Split.

Q. Are they dearer than they were six months ago?

A. Much at the same; rather dearer: the price rises every day.

Q. Whether any staves are sent directly from the Baltic to the West-Indies?

A. No.

Q. Whether if they were permitted to be sent directly now, it would introduce smuggling?

A. I think it would very much, and be of no advantage to the islands.

Q. What would be smuggled from the Baltic?

A. Linen, wool, wines, and several other articles.

Q. Does he know that they ever use woollens from the Baltic, in the West-Indies?

A. I don't know they do.

Q. As to linens?

A. Does not know, but has heard so.

Q. Whether, before the American troubles, slaves were imported into London for the use of the West-Indies?

A. Never.

A. Never.

Withdrew.

*Mr. John Roberts Hawkins, cooper.*

Q. What is the nature of the staves imported from the Baltic? are they fit to be sent to the West-Indies at all?

A. No.

Q. Why?

A. They are large in substance, and cannot be manufactured there for that trade. I think, as a cooper, that staves manufactured in London by me, will be as cheap as if carried directly from the Baltic to the West-Indies; the price of working them there would be so great.

Q. Have any staves been imported by you from Canada?

A. I have imported none, but I have purchased them.

Q. What is the nature of those staves?

A. They are the best that ever came to this market.

Q. Are they as good, or better for wet goods, than others?

A. Better for rum. Quebec exceeds the Hamburgh as much as English oak does the Quebec: this is the opinion of all the trade.

Q. Does he know of any bounty given by Parliament for importing American staves into England?

A. Yes.

Q. Was it effectual?

A. No.

Q. Why not?

A. The bounty given under certain substances, two inches thick on the joint, clause in that act laying a certain penalty, &c. and the danger of incurring the penalty, deterred the importer from accepting the bounty.

Q. Whether giving the bounty now in proper terms, would not encourage the importation from Canada?

A. Yes.

Q. Are not great quantities of staves used in general for home consumption?

A. Yes.

Q. Whether an increase of importation would not enable them to send more out?

A. Undoubtedly.

Withdrew.

*Mr. Brooke Watson.*

Q. Whether there are not parts of Canada sufficient to provide staves for the West-India islands?

A. Not immediately.

Q. In

**Q.** In what length of time will they ?

**A.** It depends upon circumstances ; if Lake Champlain should be secured, then staves would be cut during the next winter, and be ready for shipping the summer following.

**Q.** Whether a bounty on staves imported from Canada to the West-India islands, would not encourage their sending them thither ?

**A.** No doubt if it extended far enough.

**Q.** Have you formed any opinion how far it ought to extend ?

**A.** I have not.

Withdrew.

*Sir Robert Herries, banker and merchant.*

**Q.** Whether he has not resided at Barcelona a considerable time ?

**A.** Yes.

**Q.** What employment had he there ?

**A.** I was consul to the king of Denmark, and a merchant at the same time.

**Q.** Did he export wines ?

**A.** Very often.

**Q.** Did he not find staves there for that exportation ?

**A.** That country produced some staves, but not sufficient for the wine and brandies exported.

**Q.** From whence had you the casks ?

**A.** Mostly from Italy.

**Q.** Does he know what part of Italy might best furnish staves for the West-India islands ?

**A.** From the Roman state in the Pope's dominions, and from the coast of Calabria and Amalfi ; but I believe the quality of that timber is so hard as to require more labour than the inhabitants of the West-India islands would bestow on it. The sorts are red oak, white oak, and chesnut.

**Q.** Would any other part of Italy furnish timber proper for those purposes ?

**A.** None so proper as those I have mentioned, and they would be rather too hard.

**Q.** How much did you give for those staves ?

**A.** Red and white oak staves would cost, laid down at Gibraltar, from 12l. to 15l. per 1000, and this is according to the last advices received within this month : the price has always been the same.

**Q.** Would they not prepare them to be sent ?

**A.** The sizes already suit.

**Q.** What



Q. What are they ?

A. Length 54 inches ; thickness 1 inch ; breadth 4 to 5 inches ; heading 36 inches long, and 6 inches broad.

Q. Is the price of oak and chesnut the same ?

A. It is different.

Q. What is the difference ?

A. Chesnut, all charges included, from 10l. to 12l. per 1000 of 1200 in Italy, put on board.

Q. What would they cost laid down at Gibraltar ?

A. From 13l. to 14l.

Q. Within what time an assortment of the Mediterranean staves could be procured ?

A. If not a very large quantity, within less than twelve months ; the reason is, that all the staves are now engaged, and they cease to work in July, August, and September ; therefore they can't be cut till next winter, and shipped till next spring.

Q. Whether if any great order was sent there, it would have any effect on the price ?

A. It would.

Q. To what degree ?

A. Not above 10l. per cent.

Withdrew.

Mr. *Christopher Baldwin*, a West-India merchant.

Q. Whether he knows the present price of staves for the West-India islands ?

A. About 30l. per 1000 currency.

Q. What was the price two years ago ?

A. About 8l. per 1000 currency.

Q. Whether without a supply of staves at a less price, a stop will not be put to the cultivation of sugar canes ?

A. I have had several letters lately.

“ Antigua, Dec. 18.

“ If we have not soon a large supply of staves and heading, I know not what we shall do with our canes, for it will be to no purpose to grind them.”

Another from colonel Martin.

“ Antigua, Dec. 7.

“ Most of our planters have not staves and boards enough to contain even a small crop, though a few others and myself have sufficient for the next, but no more : what then shall we do for the crop after next ? we must want every thing for the means of life, and for sending the crop to England.”

The

The necessity is general to all the planters, both for slaves and all sorts of lumber.

Withdrew.

Mr. *Jacob Hagen*, a pipe slave merchant.

Q. Are the slaves from Hamburg and the Baltic proper for the West-India market?

A. I apprehend they are.

Q. Have any been cut here for the West-Indies?

A. I believe there have.

Q. Can't they cut them in the West-Indies as well?

A. I apprehend not.

Q. Can't you import Hamburg slaves, and saw them here, and export them to the West-Indies as cheap as they can be exported directly from the Baltic?

A. I apprehend I can.

Withdrew.

The House again resolved itself into a committee upon this subject, on the 26th of February (Mr. Whitworth in the chair), when the following resolutions were agreed to.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the planters in the West-India islands are in great want of slaves, and other lumber, for the cultivation of their plantations.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that it is expedient to authorize British ships to carry lumber from the Baltic, the North Sea, and the Mediterranean, for a limited time, under certain restrictions.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that it may be expedient to grant a bounty upon slaves and other lumber imported from Canada, East and West Floridas, Nova Scotia, and the Island of St. John's, to the West-Indies and the Musquito shore.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that it may be also expedient to enable his Majesty's commissioners in North America, and Governor Tryon, to grant licenses to the commanders of British ships to export lumber to the West-Indies from the port of New York for a limited time.

February 20.

Nothing done.

February

*February 21.*

The order of the day, to go into a committee of supply, &c. It was moved, "That the extraordinary services, incurred and paid by Mr. Rigby, should be referred thereto; also that an account of the distribution of 970,000*l.* and likewise the investment of 799,973*l.* 18*s.* 5*d.* in the purchase of Spanish and Portugal coin, for the use of his Majesty's forces in America, be referred to the said committee of supply."

Lord *Newhaven* said, he had examined several items in the account with all possible attention; yet there were some of them that, in his opinion, called for explanation. He had no doubt that the money had been faithfully and properly applied, and that the treasury-board made their contracts on the cheapest and best terms in their power. He was satisfied, on the other hand, that contractors were equally industrious, on their part, to make as ample profits as they possibly could. It was the business, therefore, of Parliament to examine into the nature of them, and to see that neither the nation nor the treasury, or any other official boards, were imposed upon. On this ground he could not help entertaining many doubts, there being many items in the account he did not comprehend. His Lordship then enumerated several of the articles which created his doubts, and the nature and extent of several of the charges, of which he professed his ignorance: those related to the purchase of baggage-horses, remittances, the expenditure of the monies disbursed by virtue of the vote of credit; and the general uncertainty which overspread the face of the estimates, taken together, on account of the committee not being able to distinguish and ascertain what had been issued under the authority of the vote of credit, from the several species of expenditure particularized in the items now under consideration.

Lord *North* replied to the doubts started by the noble Lord who last spoke. He said, the treasury had made their contracts with the utmost frugality; that the charge for horses, looked upon to be so exorbitant by the noble Lord, happened quite in the common course of business, and was adopted from motives of economy; they were collected from the several regiments of cavalry on the British establishment, and were regularly valued: the valuation was 16*l.* per horse, which was the price for which they were recruited; and they came cheaper considerably than any others that could be procured to answer the end of baggage-horses. His Lordship entered likewise into several explanations; and endeavoured to draw the

the line so much wished for; but after all his industry, either from the intricacy of the subject itself, the confusion which generally accompanies a detail of figures, and the deductions drawn from them, when memory is the only source of information the party inquiring has to draw from, the whole seemed to bear every appearance of a mass of ambiguity and obscurity.

Lord *Barrington* said, he had been in the war-office, at times, for seventeen years, and never heard a single complaint of any impropriety in the conduct of that board; that he presumed the horses were wanting immediately, and he was satisfied they could not be procured in any other manner, on so low terms, and so expeditiously.

Colonel *Barrié* said, there were many articles in the account which he wished to have explained, as the sums were immense. They were the representatives of the people, or they had no right to sit in that House. They were sent there by their constituents, to be a control on the executive power, and a check upon ministers. It was their peculiar province to inquire into the expenditure of the public money. Ministers were responsible; their duty required that they should give the House every satisfaction in their power. He then pointed to a great number of articles, which he said were shameful; the very charge of surgeons' mates, increased from three to nine for each regiment. He dwelt a considerable time on one item in the account, which was the sum of 44,000*l.* issued to Col. *Fawcitt*, unaccompanied by any explanation, or specification for what, but the bare issuing of the money. He spoke of the bad and unwholesome provisions sent from Great Britain and Ireland, and the sickness and mortality they had occasioned among the troops, both in New York and Canada; and of the bad flour which had been first imported from America, and then exported thither at a most exorbitant price. This flour would not bear a second voyage, he said, nor was it of a quality to be used, even on its first importation from America, except in seasons of dearth and necessity; the corn and flour factors in general being of opinion, that the grain was of such a nature as not to bear the sea-carriage without heating, and in some measure spoiling it; so that the health of the troops was sacrificed to the emolument of the contractors, who being paid the very best price, served the army with this species of flour, that the English bakers would not purchase, and thereby gained a double if not a treble profit.

profit. As to the flesh provisions exported from Ireland, he said, he was an eye-witness of that himself, when in that kingdom last summer, where, in the very heat of the dog-days, he saw a great number of droves of hogs going to slaughter, killed, immediately salted, and packed up for the use of the army in America. He was curious enough to inquire of the coopers, if provisions thus prepared would keep? He was answered, Certainly not; they might keep for the voyage; but if not opened, and consumed immediately on their arrival, they would be good for nothing; and even in that event they would be barely eatable. He said, the transport service was an immense article, and was higher by nearly one half, than was ever known. The freight had been usually 9s. per ton, and now it was raised to the monstrous price of fourteen or fifteen.

Lord North replied, that the article of which the honourable gentleman so loudly complained, was 44,000*l.* paid for levy-money, which administration did not, he confessed, expect would be demanded, because it was not mentioned in the treaty. The Landgrave of Hesse quoted the treaty of 1755 as a precedent; that treaty was understood to be the basis of the present; consequently, the good faith subsisting between both parties, compelled administration to accede to the justice of the claim. He said, some of the provisions exported were as good as could be wished for, some of them indifferent, as was always the case. They were sent in haste, and inconveniences of course happened; but every complaint of the latter kind would be now at an end. Administration had contracted to have them of the best kind, and delivered on the spot in the best condition; therefore, if they should turn out damaged or unmerchantable, the loss would fall on the contractors, not on government. As to the transport service, it was executed well, and the contracts made on the best possible terms. The honourable gentleman was mistaken in the price of freight; for the highest price paid was no more than 12s. 6*d.* and the current price before the breaking out of the war was 10s. per ton. This rise originated from two causes: first, the increased demand; secondly, the great expense the transport contractors were put to, in arming and fitting out their vessels, so as to be in a state of defence against the American privateers. And though the advanced freight might amount to a very great sum, when it was considered that the events of the war solely depended on the double

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operation

operation of a safe conveyance, in respect of supplying our army with military stores and provisions of all kinds, and our preventing them from falling into the hands of the rebels, no gentleman in that House would, he presumed, lament or even disapprove of any increase of expenditure, which was intended to secure, and was happily productive of so important and desirable a purpose. As a proof how well the high freight was laid out, he could inform the committee, that out of 202 transports and victuallers sent to America, only three had fallen into the hands of the rebels; and one of them was thought to have been lost, by the captain permitting himself to be surprised; but that affair would be inquired into.

Lord *Barrington* replied to the article respecting the surgeon's mates, that an additional number was always allowed to the regiments quartered in the West Indies; and the number was still further increased, in proportion to the manner the troops were quartered; if cantoned in single companies, each company would most undoubtedly require a mate.

Colonel *Barvé*, speaking upon the rum contracts, observed, the contracts for rum were at 3s. 6d. and 5s. 3d. per gallon, which was a most unheard-of and exorbitant price; when it was well known, that good rums could be delivered at the quays in London from 2s. to 3s. per gallon, independent of the duty. In other places, the rum total was charged, without specifying the number of gallons, which left the price at large; it might be 10s. instead of 3s. or 5s. per gallon. Contracting was a special good trade now-a-days. It was a rich manure and daily gaining ground. Contractors were known to be animals of a greedy nature, always craving and never satisfied; their appetites for dishonest lucre and foul gain were as insatiable as their consciences were easily satisfied, and their minds in all points respecting their mercantile or parliamentary conduct, readily made up.

Lord *North* said, the price of Jamaica rum on the spot was 4s. 4d. per gallon, which with freight, insurance, and ullage, left little or no profit for the contractor; it ought to be taken into the estimate of the probable risk and profits, that the contractors engaged to deliver the rum in whatever part of America it might be wanting. As to the spreading manure of contracts, his Lordship observed, that contracts were not confined to the members of that House. A gentleman

gentleman had said, the other day, that giving a contract to any person but a member of that House, was a breach of privilege. He supposed the honourable gentleman meant a display of wit, rather than any thing serious. If, however, it was intended as a general insinuation, that none but members had contracts, he begged leave to set the gentleman right, and to inform him that the contrary was the fact. He did not know any custom, usage, or law of Parliament, that made it so; and he was certain, that contracts were given indiscriminately to such as were most likely to execute them well, without any consideration, whether they had or had not a seat in Parliament. Some broad, he allowed, proved bad; but those were accidents it was impossible to provide against. It might have been occasioned through hurry, ignorance, or mistake. He was well satisfied it arose from nothing else.

Goldschmidt Barré said, when the treaty was made with Hesse, why was it not known that levy-money must be paid; and why was it not accordingly mentioned in the treaty presented to the House? It had, he could not help saying, every appearance of the grossest deceit and imposition; and observed on the general justification now set up, that if the treasury board consisted of the vilest and most profligate characters that ever disgraced mankind, they would in their own defence plead, that they had disposed of the public money in the most frugal and faithful manner.

Besides, if the treaty of 1755 was to govern the present, it ought to prevail as a rule throughout. If not, but that many advantageous terms were introduced into the treaty of 1775, the fair equitable construction flowing from these premises was, that the Landgrave of Hesse had a double subsidy, and other advantages by the latter, that he had not by the former; he was bound therefore to abide by either one or the other. Take the treaty of 1755, with all its benefits; or relinquish every claim under it. Let his Serene Highness have, in God's name, his option of the levy-money, or the double subsidy; but to give him both, so directly contrary to the letter as well as spirit of the treaty of 1755, was an abuse of Parliamentary trust and ministerial duty hitherto unequalled and unprecedented in the annals of ministerial temerity and speculation.—The Colonel sat down, with observing, that, even within his own memory, such a gross malversation in office would have been severely and pointedly animadverted upon by a majority of that House; and that no plea, but incapacity or ignorance, would be sufficient to deprecate

its just resentments against so daring and wanton a breach of public trust. Motion agreed to.

Adjourned to the 24th.

February 24.

Private business.

February 25.

Governor *Johnstone*. I have in my hand a petition from Captain Blair, in behalf of himself and Doctor Charles Irving, complaining of a violent outrage committed by two Spanish guarda-costas, holding commissions from the King of Spain, in the capture of the ship *Morning Star*, the property of the petitioners, as she lay at anchor, with the English colours displayed, in the road before Black-river, the principal British settlement on the Musquito shore.

As I believe, from something I have heard since a noble Lord in my eye—[Lord North]—has entered the House, whose *fat* generally determines the vote, that I shall not be permitted to bring this petition up; I shall therefore take the liberty of stating the contents and the circumstances more at large than I should otherwise have done in this stage of the business, that the world may judge between the conduct of those who offer this petition, and of such representatives of the people as refuse even to hear the complaints of injured subjects, or to inquire into the circumstances of national insult and disgrace.

Before I state the particulars of this transaction, it is necessary for me to inform the House, that they are not now called on to inquire into a case where the least infraction of any of the laws for carrying on commerce in the Spanish dominions, can be alleged. I freely confess that the impolitic laws of Spain respecting the commerce of her colonies, are such, by making the temptation of profit so much greater than the risk of seizure, that the adventurous spirit of our countrymen has been frequently called forth to force a trade upon those coasts, and even encouraged by the officers of our government, below the dignity of a great nation. These adventurers are much diminished of late: they were formerly known by the name of Buccaneers: like most other illegal traders, with great risks and great profits, they were of a very desperate cast, and frequently irregular in their conduct, so that inquiries into their complaints demanded more than ordinary circumspection. But I beg the House will not from thence be induced to believe, from private whispers or false insinuation, that there was the least degree of illegal commerce



commerce or unbecoming behaviour on the part of Captain Blair or Doctor Irving, or any of their people, intermixed with this complaint; they are both men of irreproachable character, and of enlarged understanding, well known to many of the members of this House. The matter is truly and without evasion, an issue joined between Spain and Great Britain, to the right of settling on the Musquito shore, which the Spanish court seem determined to support by *ouvert* acts of force and violence, rather than submit to a civilized discussion by the law of nations; of which insulting disposition in the court of Spain, these worthy gentlemen, the petitioners, are likely to be the unhappy victims.

It was with no hostile intentions, Sir, it was with no views of illegal commerce, that these gentlemen embarked themselves and their property on the project of a settlement on the Musquito shore; it was to cultivate the generous arts of peace, and diffuse their benign influence through that rude and waste part of the world. This project they undertook not only by the encouragement, but in some measure *at the desire* of government.

In the year 1775, a more regular form of government having been established on the Musquito shore, by the appointment of a legislative council, Doctor Irving and Captain Blair were induced by this act of authority, together with the encouragement they received from the Earl of Dartmouth, to embark between five and six thousand pound in the adventure of making a settlement on the Musquito shore, chiefly with a view of expressing vegetable oils out of the various oleaginous productions of that country, fit for the wool-combing and other purposes in the woollen manufactory here.

The next object (the petitioners being both excellent chymists as well as intelligent botanists) was the improvement and cultivation of the different dyes already known in that country, with a reasonable hope of further discoveries by men so attentive and intelligent on this subject. A third point was the culture of cotton in a climate so favourable, where land is so cheap, and which is besides so well calculated in the process of preparing for the native indolence of the inhabitants, in their first progress towards more active industry. These were the objects of this expedition; and to show how much they were approved by authority, Lord Dartmouth, then first lord commissioner of trade and plantations, and secretary of state for the colonies, actually undertook, in case Mr. Blair and Doctor Irving succeeded in their views

respecting the vegetable oil, that it should be moved in Parliament to make an alteration in the duties in that respect.

A project like this may raise ridicule from men born to opulent fortunes, who have never had occasion to consider, beyond their own estates, the various incitements which God has established for spreading improvements throughout the world. But to those who are able to trace the efficacy of Providence through different works, and know the numberless discoveries that have been made in the arts and sciences under such enthusiasm, who feel the spirit that sent Columbus to the west, and Gama to the east, will reverse men of that turn of mind.

It would appear that this arrangement of the legislative council, coupled to the circumstances of men of genius settling under it, had roused the natural jealousy of the court of Spain, and had determined the councils of that nation to counteract the measure by actual force; for after all the trouble of collecting materials for such an establishment, after the fatigues of so long a passage, before half the utensils were landed out of the vessel, she was, in open day, boarded, seized, and carried off, in sight of the King's house, and all the inhabitants of the place, by the Pacifico, of twelve guns, commanded by Don John Castello, and the Recorso, of fourteen guns, commanded by Don Antonio Yepe, by whom the unhappy mariners were tied together and made captives, and carried along with the vessel to Carthagena.

That the House may understand the subject fairly, it will be proper to state in a cursory manner, what has hitherto been the situation of the Musquito shore.

The country extends about twenty leagues beyond Black river, to the west, and twenty leagues to the south of Yarra or Great river, making in the whole about 400 miles of a rectangular coast, running west and south, from Cape Gracia de Dios, and from 100 to 80 miles deep in the country. The chiefs of the different tribes of Indians first formally ceded this country to his Majesty while the Duke of Albemarle was governor of Jamaica; their chiefs have ever since been respected and obeyed by the natives, according to the commissions they have held from the governor of Jamaica, to which the Musquito shore is considered as an appendage, nor has any Spaniard ever settled there.

In the war of 1740, when we projected the attack on Carthagena, and the expedition into the South Seas, under Lord Anson, thinking the Indians might be of material service against  
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the Spaniards, an officer under the name of superintendant, and paid by the crown, was then appointed, as also justices of the peace, by commission from the governor of Jamaica; which establishment has continued ever since, sometimes with more relaxed, and sometimes with firmer authority, according to the characters of the men employed, as every species of colony government under our constitution must be, when founded merely on the will of the crown, without the elective voice of the people.

It was no doubt with a design of remedying those inconveniences, that this new species of colony government by a legislative council, chosen by the inhabitants, was adopted. I do not take upon me either to condemn or approve the policy which directed the measure, but I believe the motives were extremely good. A very extraordinary circumstance had brought the affairs of the Musquito shore under the more immediate review of the Board of trade, by which the unrestrained irregularities that prevailed there, became more apparent; a very worthy gentleman, and a friend of my own, had gone to that part of the world, in the year 1773, with a view of settling in the country; when he arrived there, he found a commerce established of the most barbarous and cruel kind that ever disgraced the transactions of any civilized people. The traders on the Musquito shore were accustomed to sell their goods at very high prices and long credit, to the Musquito Indians, and the mode of payment set on foot by the British settlers, was to hunt the other surrounding tribes of Indians, and seize them by stratagem or force, from whence they were delivered to the British traders as slaves, at certain prices, in discharge of their debts, and were by them conveyed as articles of commerce to the English and French settlements in the West Indies. The person among others concerned in this shameful traffic had been the superintendant himself, whose employment was ostensibly to protect the Indians; from whence, as the House will easily perceive, all kinds of jealousy, distraction, and distrust had prevailed: several of the Indians, and particularly the King, complained to my friend of the distracted state of the natives, from this species of commerce. He wisely foresaw that it would be impossible to correct the evil by any complaint through the superintendant, who was himself concerned; he therefore advised, as the best means of obtaining redress, that the King should send his brother and his son to England, with a regular complaint; and lest the fact should be disputed, he

actually purchased two of those surrounding Indians, who had been made slaves, to accompany the others on the voyage, which voyage he undertook at his own expense, and agreed to accompany them hither with that humanity and attention to the rights of his fellow-creatures, for which I know him to be distinguished. But whilst I praise his benevolence, and consider the act as the most meritorious that could be performed, I must also, in justice to truth, declare to the House, his total ignorance of the ignoble selfish spirit which directs the councils of this country; this gentleman was actually weak enough to believe he would receive public commendations for his conduct, and instant redress for so inhuman a grievance!

When the affair was first stated to Lord Dartmouth, he received the chiefs as became him, and felt with that tenderness for which he is said to be noted; but his ardour was soon cooled by some of those worthless indifferent beings who cannot believe that any man can suffer an injury, while they are enjoying the luxuries of an abundant table. The superintendant had also four friends among those kind of men; the matter was afterwards put off for nine months, from week to week, till Lord Dartmouth quitted the Board of trade, having first, in consequence of the inquiry, established the legislative council, which has been the occasion of the hostilities complained of.

The first act of Lord Dartmouth's successor was to dismiss the superintendant of the Musquito shore, and appoint another, leaving however such an expense upon my worthy friend, notwithstanding government paid a small sum towards his losses, that I believe no man will again venture upon such a romantic idea as that of crossing the Atlantic, in consequence of any grievance, in hopes of obtaining redress in England.

It was those very Indian chiefs, whom Lord Dartmouth sent out with Messrs. Blair and Irving.

We shall now consider what can be said in vindication of the conduct of the court of Spain.

Our right to trade and to settle in the Musquito country, is founded (as I have shewn) on the cession made by the native inhabitants, and on an uninterrupted possession of near a hundred years. That of the Spaniards is founded on a grant from the Pope of Rome, and as being the first discoverers of the circumjacent coasts. It is true the matter is left somewhat indefinite, by the definitive treaty of Paris. That the House may judge exactly, I will read the article 17th.

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“His Britannic Majesty shall cause to be demolished all the fortifications which his subjects shall have erected in the Bay of Honduras, and other places of the territory of Spain *in that part of the world*, four months after the ratification of the present treaty; and his Catholic Majesty shall not permit his Britannic Majesty's subjects, or their workmen, to be disturbed or molested, under any pretence whatsoever, *in the said places*, in their occupation of cutting, loading, and carrying away logwood; and for this purpose, they may build without hinderance, and occupy without interruption, the houses and magazines necessary for them, for their families, and for their effects; and his Catholic Majesty assures to them, by this article, the full enjoyment of those advantages and powers on the Spanish coasts and territories as above stipulated, immediately after the ratification of the present treaty.”

Undoubtedly the words *other places of the territory of Spain, in that part of the world*, leave the dispute as much at large, or as contracted, as could be desired by a politician disposed to take the cause of either party. I freely confess, that a regular established government, where mankind could multiply under the benign influence of colonization, that formerly prevailed in the English settlements, and thus situated in the very heart of the Spanish dominions, is an object of great consideration for them; perhaps (and for the same reason) it is equally an object of great consideration with us, not to relinquish such advantages. Men who are disposed to yield the right of Great Britain to such considerations, might find many stronger arguments, upon that consideration, for yielding up Gibraltar, situated in the kingdom of Spain itself, and destined for the key of commerce in the Mediterranean, exposing to passing nations at the south of Europe, the proudest triumph of insular power, and the most humiliating circumstances of debilitated empire, that have yet appeared in the fluctuating scene of human events. For she too, in the plenitude of her power, made cruel war on her distant subjects! But I do not wish at present to enter into the question of convenience or of right, or the extent of that right, on the Musquito shore; my proposition is short and simple, disencumbered upon every alternative from such perplexity. If Lord Dartmouth had no right to establish a legislative council on the Musquito shore, by which every Englishman was invited to partake of the benefits of that species of government, his Lordship is to blame,

blame, and the administration with whom he concerted that measure, should be censured. But for this House to permit the innocent subject acting under such sanctions of government, to be ruined by his confidence, while the same set of ministers are in power, is inconsistent; or that we shall refuse to hear complaints, or to examine into the truth in such cases, is placing the representatives of the people (who ought to see with a jealous eye the injuries of every individual) in such an odious light, that, instead of being considered as the guardians of the rights and privileges of the people, they can only be considered as an engine in the hands of a minister (like the Roman senate under Tiberius), to palliate disgraces, or execute vengeance at his will.

What I maintain here, and with more confidence than in the case of Falkland's island, is this, that supposing government had even exceeded the just limits between the King of Spain and Great Britain, yet still the object was a matter of cool discussion, agreeable to the respect due to the dignity of a great nation, before any overt act of violence could be committed. The late Sir Charles Saunders declared, upon the unhanging a sloop of war's rudder, merely to detain her for a few days, that Madrid in ashes was hardly a sufficient atonement. For my part, I consider this of much greater consequence, because I regard personal liberty as the first great consideration in a free country; the tying of British subjects together, loading them with irons, and throwing them into dungeons, is of more estimation, in my judgment, than the shipping and unshipping of five hundred rudders. I see some gentlemen smile at this sentiment. I do not wish to adopt their opinions, nor do I expect they should adopt mine. It would be difficult for me to make them feel the regard I have for civil liberty. If I should say it is equal to the affection they bear to their pensions and places, they would hardly believe it possible. But I am not ashamed to maintain that the commerce of the productive coast of the Musquito shore is infinitely superior to the barren rocks of Falkland's island. When a member of Parliament can laugh at the imprisonment of English subjects, or sit regardless of a question where the peace, the happiness, the existence of five hundred families of his fellow-subjects are involved, it is, in my opinion, a mark of depravity that deserves the contempt and abhorrence of all good citizens.

I am the furthest of any man in this House from wishing to involve us in a war with Spain. I am conscious of our feeble situation,

situation, and that we are already engaged in a civil war, too extensive for our resources. I do not expect in this assembly, that Roman spirit which directed vengeance against the King of Epirus, when Hannibal was in the centre of Italy; that period is past. Our late defeats in America must make every man look with awful consideration on the extent of the present war, and the magnitude of the expense in dealing with the enemy, whom we have unhappily driven into rebellion by our own false policy and oppression. I am conscious that our revolted colonies, aided by a foreign force, must prove an over-match for us. Their respectable resistance on the shore, and the innumerable captures at sea, demonstrate this. I therefore think it would be madness to irritate any other power. Our situation is such at present, that I think it better to suffer every insult, than provoke any foreign power openly to assist the Americans, or to form any alliance with them, which must make their return to the allegiance of this country more difficult, if not impossible, even supposing his Majesty shall soon see the fruitless conduct of his present ministers, and become disposed to listen to wiser and more faithful counsellors.

It is for this reason I would propose, if the petition was brought up, that the damages should be paid to the innocent sufferers, until we are in a situation of doing ourselves justice. But while I offer this proposition, I beg the names of those men may be remembered, who from the height of national prosperity, without any exterior cause or other reason than their own mismanagement, have *crossed the Rubicon*, and plunged us into all the horrors of civil discord, until we are left in this debilitated state, liable to be insulted by every foreign power.

I have only now to inform the House of the different steps that have been taken since the capture of the *Morning Star*, to obtain redress.

The inhabitants of the Musquito shore, extremely alarmed at so notorious an attack, by force of arms, on the property of the King's subjects, in which their fate was involved, transmitted an immediate representation to the governor of Jamaica, of the circumstances attending it; and though the proof, that the vessels which made the seizure were Spaniards, was not so positive as the common law of this country would require, before a jury, to deprive a man of his life, yet, attended by those numerous circumstances, by which seamen denote the vessels of foreign nations, there could remain no  
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doubt that the cruisers were Spaniards; this, added to the dress, complexion, and tones of voice of the crew, all plainly distinguishable, rendered the evidence from the affidavits as complete as the nature of the case could admit. This representation was carried to Jamaica by Captain Blair in person, who stated to the governor all the other minute circumstances that came to his knowledge.

Though the unhappy sufferer was perfectly convinced who had injured him, yet the governor, who is himself a seaman, and a man of sound natural sense, would not believe the Spaniards could be guilty of such *incivility*, and still insisted the captors must be vessels from North America. Application was also made to the *worthy* admiral upon that station, but he was equally incredulous as to any misbehaviour in the Spaniards; and yet if he was sincere in his belief, it would appear strange that the admiral should have sent no cruisers to look after those American privateers.

Finding no likelihood of redress abroad, from the instructions the governor and admiral must have received, Captain Blair embarked for England, and on the 25th of September delivered a memorial to Lord George Germaine, secretary of state for the colonies, complaining of the unjustifiable capture of his vessel by the Spaniards, and stating his losses at 3000l. His Lordship was in the same incredulous disposition of mind with the governor of Jamaica. It was from our own colonies alone, that any hostile act could come. It was impossible to persuade his Lordship, from any circumstantial proof, that the Spaniards could be guilty of such an act. What I now maintain is this, that, admitting there was not sufficient proof for an application for redress, there was perfect ground for a hypothetical inquiry, if our good friends and allies had committed this trespass, and what were the motives: but this was refused, from our situation with regard to the Spanish court. After three months had elapsed in fruitless attendance, there was, by accident, transmitted from Jamaica, a deposition of Frederick Sund, one of the unhappy mariners, who had been taken in the vessel, and escaped from prison at Carthagena. This man set forth every particular in his affidavit, and as it is the most material evidence in the petition, I will read it to the House\*.

As soon as this affidavit was public in Jamaica, application was again made to the governor and admiral on that station to obtain redress; the governor still professed his entire scept-

\* For this affidavit see page 310.

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ticism, and the admiral was more profitably employed in catching the innocent traders from North America, who had ventured to sea under the faith of our first restraining bill, but who were now condemned as prizes by the second, before the limitation in the first bill was expired. This was about the harvest of such glorious exploits, and therefore a most unseasonable time to inquire into private injuries or national insults. After six weeks solicitation, however, the governor and admiral did at last think it decent to make some inquiry into the depredations committed upon his Majesty's subjects under their protection. Accordingly a frigate was dispatched, with a complimentary letter to the governor of Carthage, wrote in a style the most civil and obliging that is to be found in the annals of this country, when demanding reparation for a national indignity. When this nation is sunk still lower, it may serve as a model to future admirals and governors. Nevertheless, when Doctor Irving requested of the admiral, that he might accompany the representation, and go in this frigate to point out his own vessel, and refute any false allegation on the spot, he was refused this equitable request, which plainly demonstrates (as well as the papers when they shall be read) that the whole was a timid ceremonious requisition, unworthy the dignity of this nation.

As I have the honour to be acquainted with the governor of Jamaica, who is an excellent naval officer, and know what is due to the British colours, I am persuaded he never could have acted a part so humiliating to this country and himself, if he had not secret instructions to curb the dignity of his own mind. Notwithstanding the courtly expressions in the letter from the governor of Jamaica, and the refined politeness of the English admiral, the ingenuous character of the Spanish governor would not permit him to adopt the evasion which was pointed out: he boldly acknowledged the capture, by vessels commissioned by the King of Spain. He assigned no reason in justification, but freely declared he had no power to order restitution in an affair which depended upon the courts of Madrid and London. While this pleasant scene was carrying on in the West Indies, the deposition of Frederick Sund had been transmitted to Captain Blair in England; this he enclosed in a letter to Lord George Germaine, of the 17th December. His Lordship seemed still desirous of further delays, but on being pressed by Capt. Blair, in terms more severe than his natural modesty generally inclines him to use, his Lordship then wheeled to a more extraordinary subterfuge; he acquainted the

the unfortunate petitioner, *for the first time*, that truly he was in the wrong course of office, and that the matter belonged to Lord Weymouth's department, to whom the papers should be sent. This I consider as a very unfair and disingenuous conduct, whatever purposes it might be intended to serve. If the affair belonged to Lord Weymouth's office, his Lordship should have been permitted to see and judge concerning the first representation in September; which I am persuaded would have been very different.

Capt. Blair hereafter applied to Lord Weymouth, who immediately came to town, and transmitted a representation to Lord Grantham at Madrid. Captain Blair has waited with great patience, in hopes of some satisfactory answer, but he has not as yet officially learned any particulars. As this is not a vessel seized for illegal commerce, but for going to attempt a settlement on the Musquito shore, under the encouragement and approbation of government, the matter is brought to a short issue, and must turn on the right of the nation to make any settlements there. Here is no disavowal of the facts alleged; no declaration, in case the circumstances are as represented, they should be willing to render reparation: so that the unhappy sufferers, after embarking their fortunes in a laudable undertaking, at the invitation of administration, are now plundered and ruined by a foreign power. The matter is further endeavoured to be involved in such doubt, mystery, and confusion, that there is no prospect of relief; and the parties, after every species of procrastination and evasion in office, are left without a glimpse of hope for obtaining redress, unless by the interposition of this honourable House.

If it is alleged that the court of Spain are ever slow in negotiations like this, I answer, that the Spanish court are composed of men constituted like others; that they are slow or prompt in reply, according to the men and the administration with whom they are transacting business. If the capture was put upon the footing of any illicit trade (which is impossible in the present case), the matter might demand inquiry, and consequently delay. But here the point must turn on our right to trade and settle on the Musquito shore: the discussion should be short, after one hundred years possession; or at least, if government do not choose to venture that discussion at present, the laws of civil society require that the state should indemnify the innocent sufferer, whenever the nation shall postpone any requisition for the reparation

reparation of private injury which is due to every individual, from the protection of the state. Either condemn Lord Dartmouth; demand satisfaction of the court of Spain; or indemnify the individual, who acted under your sanction and advice. One of those three things you are bound to do; the last would prove most pleasing to me in the present juncture. Will any man believe, in case Lord Chatham had been first minister of this country, that in *five months* he would not have been able to procure an explicit answer upon this subject from Madrid? For my part, I sincerely believe that he would have had an answer in *five weeks*; and I refer to those who remember the honour of the nation in the days of Mr. Pitt, if the whole tenour of his Lordship's conduct does not justify me in entertaining this belief. But at all events there can be no rational objection to bringing up the petition; we are bound to hear the complaints of the subject; what is to be done after the House are fully informed of the facts, may be a matter of more difficult consideration; but to reject the petition, would be loading our own resolutions with an imputation of timidity, worse than any I have stated in the conduct of the subordinate officers of government, and shewing it is the same abject disposition that pervades the whole system.

It hopes that this is not entirely the case, and that at least, if the old spirit of resentment for national indignities is stifled, the spirit of private justice is not yet extinguished, I now move you, that this petition be brought up.

The motion was seconded by Mr. J. Johnstone, who lamented the miserable, degraded, and humiliating state this country had been reduced to by the violent and impolitic measures pursuing against America, which left us at the mercy of our foreign enemies, notwithstanding the high-sounding boastful language held, of our being in a situation to be able to cope and contend with all the powers of Europe, should a necessity arise for any such exertion. He declared himself strenuously for the inquiry, as the means of rousing us to a proper sense of our very critical and perilous situation, from those romantic dreams of American conquest, and unconditional legislative supremacy; and of recalling the attention of Parliament to the dangers we have been imperceptibly led into, by the unexampled folly, temerity, and obstinacy of a blind insatuated set of men, to whom the administration of public affairs had been unfortunately intrusted.

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Lord North said he should be against the bringing up of the petition, upon several grounds: First, he thought it would be extremely improper to bring such a matter before Parliament, till it was known in what manner the court of Madrid would behave, or what answer they would ultimately give. It was a delicate affair, and required a close and careful investigation, before it would be proper to take any decisive measures respecting it. His Lordship denied that any legislative council was now existing on the Musquito shore; and insisted, that the superintendant, though named here, was appointed, or approved of by the governor of Jamaica. He said, we never had any direct control over the settlers in the Bay of Honduras; they were under the direction of the government of Jamaica; and any communication they had with ministers here, had always come through that medium. His Lordship seemed very willing to insinuate, though he did not expressly assert it, that there was no sort of civil policy existing, or ever had existed on the Musquito shore. He said it had never been considered in the light of a colony, but rather a society of persons, residing there for the benefit of cutting logwood, dependant on Jamaica. As to the right of residence, and all other rights arising from it, he spoke with great caution, and with some degree of doubt, at least with diffidence. He said the Spaniards had always disputed it; and the article in the treaty of Paris, referred to by the honourable gentleman, plainly shewed, that the right was far from being acknowledged, for there it was specially provided, that the first preliminary step to be acceded to by the British court, was the demolition of all fortifications, defences, or military works of any kind, which might have been raised or constructed in the course of the late war, or at any preceding time; the article both speaking and importing that language. Then followed the stipulation by which Spain was bound to secure to the British settlers the privilege of cutting logwood. It was a permission only to cut logwood, which was very far from a recognition of any right to territorial possession. He then spoke to the fact and dates very fully, which were stated in the petition: Whatever some gentlemen might think of the idea which prevailed with the governor of Jamaica, and the noble Lord in office who adopted it, he, for his part, said he perceived nothing improvable or extraordinary in such an opinion. There were no proofs either way; and till there were, it would be a most extraordinary

extraordinary procedure to apply to the court of Madrid for redress of an injury, perhaps committed by our own subjects. On the whole, he said, that five months had only elapsed since the first complaint was lodged in the American department; three of those had been a blank; two months, then, have passed since the complaint has been substantiated; application was immediately made to the court of Spain; a letter was dispatched the very night (the 17th of December) by Lord Weymouth to Lord Grantham, at the court of Madrid; 18 demand satisfaction for the injury. A letter, in answer to the said complaint, was received on the 15th of January; in which the Spanish minister disavows any knowledge of the act, but desires that a memorial, stating the facts, may be drawn up, and transmitted to our minister at Madrid, by which means the Spanish court would be enabled to make the necessary inquiries, and, from the whole circumstances collected from both sides, give that degree of satisfaction to which the nature of the case was entitled. Two other letters have been since written, to which no answers have been yet received; consequently, the very grounds and prayer of the petition are equally ill founded; the petitioner, in a negotiation, from its nature so subject to procrastination and delay, has no right to complain, no pretence to come to Parliament for redress, till refused it elsewhere. No such refusal has been given; on the contrary, the King's ministers have urged the matter with a most commendable diligence. What does the petitioner complain of? That his complaint has been of five months standing. Surely, when all the circumstances are properly considered, as well as the tedious course necessarily to be submitted to in the mode of obtaining redress, the petitioner may think himself well off, if he obtains it in five times five months.

It was never known, he said, that a negotiation, involved, as it must appear, in intricacy, till properly cleared up, was ever settled in the time allotted by the petitioners. If they had considered properly what they were desirous of obtaining, they could never have complained of procrastination or delay; they would have learnt, that application must be first made to the Spanish ministry; that, as a matter of state, it must be considered in cabinet; that orders must be sent to the Spanish governor or governors, to inquire into the motives of their conduct; that the specific answer arising from this course of investigation, must be transmitted hither by our minister; and finally, that his Majesty's servants must ultimately

mately determine upon the propriety of the offered redress. These were all steps necessary to be previously taken, before the petitioners, even on a refusal of redress, could apply with any degree of propriety in the present manner. His Lordship further observed, that another ground of complaint stated in the petition was, that Mr. Blair was refused a copy of the letters relative to this transaction. This complaint was as ill founded, as the relief sought was unreasonable and premature. The under-secretary could not, without permission, give a copy of the letters desired, nor was it usual. He had done every thing to oblige Captain Blair, that was consistent with his duty. He read the contents of the letters audibly, and without reserve; and Mr. Blair expressing a desire to hear the contents more distinctly, the under-secretary complied with his request, and read the letter a second or a third time.

Governor *Johnstone*. Sir, I rise by way of explanation, and I hope for the indulgence of the House. Nothing could tempt me to trespass on their patience, after the favour they have shewn me, except the clearing up some disputable facts of material consequence. The noble Lord denies two things, both of which I assert. He says there never was any appointment of a legislative council on the Musquito shore, by Lord Dartmouth, nor is any superintendant appointed by the crown to act there. When I heard the first of those declarations, I immediately went out of the House to Capt. Blair, who had assured me of the fact. He is now at the door, and ready to prove what he has told me, that he saw the instructions from the governor of Jamaica for constituting the legislative council, reciting, that it was established in consequence of instructions from Lord Dartmouth; and he saw this legislative council several times assembled and acting under this authority. Respecting the other fact disputed by the noble Lord, I do again assert the superintendant now acting there, was appointed by the secretary of state for the colonies, now in my eye\*. Here then are two points in dispute, which should alone be a sufficient reason for bringing up the petition, that we may prove or disprove the allegations, and the House be accurately informed. With regard to the other parts of the noble Lord's assertions in this debate, they are assumed upon equally bad information, and betray a degree of ignorance on this subject, that this noble Lord seldom shews

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\* This Lord George Germaine acknowledged.

on any other. I see the noble Lord now collects his knowledge by piecemeal, from those about him. While my honourable friend \* now whispers the noble Lord, will he also tell him and the more *aged* gentlemen of the House, before we yield up our right to the Musquito shore, that it is from *thence* we receive the greatest part of our *delicious turtle*? May I tell the younger part, before they give their consent, that it is from *thence* comes the *sarsaparilla*, to purify our blood? All the noble Lord's arguments stand on confounding the Musquito shore with the Bay of Honduras, which are perfectly distinct. There is a report of the board of trade, solemnly delivering their opinion in favour of the rights, by reference to facts that cannot have a doubt in the mind of any man who reads them. To find the minister of a great kingdom, in a matter of such moment, perfectly unacquainted with the material circumstances, is an affecting spectacle, and shews how business may be conducted in other affairs. Perhaps it is the best way of accounting for our repeated blunders. I cannot suppose the noble Lord meant to misrepresent or amuse; that would be worse.

To say that we would make no inquiry about the capture of the *Morning Star*, until we had positive common law proof, is equally ridiculous in national affairs. Supposing *Sund* had never escaped, could there have been no application or means of redress for the unhappy sufferers? Perhaps there may be many other British subjects languishing in Spanish jails, if these are the principles that are to direct our conduct. In short, every argument the noble Lord has used, are strong reasons why we should hear the petition; there is not one against it.

Mr. *Fox* observed, that the subject of debate lay within a very narrow compass. It was a fixed rule in the proceedings of that House never to reject a petition, but on the following grounds; either that the facts stated in it were known to be materially false, or that it contained matter improper, or offensive in itself; or, lastly, that the facts, though true, were not worthy of inquiry or consideration. Now, the facts were not denied by the noble Lord; they were rather confirmed by him. It was not pretended that the petition contained any thing offensive, or incompetent for the House to inquire into; consequently, the purport of his Lordship's opposition to the motion is this; that the petition must be re-

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\* Some gentleman was whispering Lord North.

jected, not, as he said before, because the contents were false or improper, but because they were true, but not worthy of investigation. If however any doubts remained with the noble Lord, or his coadjutor in the difficult task of government, of the reality of the facts, it was incumbent on the House to have those facts inquired into; and if the petitioners should be discovered in attempting to mislead the House, it would be the business of every member present to censure so unjustifiable a conduct, and to follow it with a censure suitable to the degree of the offence. Nothing like this being pretended, it came substantially round to his first assertion, that the facts were true; but, as the noble Lord said, the affair was so delicate, or ticklish, or, if his Lordship liked the explanation better, of so little consequence, that it was unworthy the notice of that House. Besides the general complexion of the petition, as a matter of a public nature, respecting Great Britain and Spain, he could not help observing, that it struck him, though not in a different, at least in a separate light. It came, in his opinion, before the House as a matter of complaint against the noble Lord who presides at the American department. His conduct was indeed of the first impression.

Two Spanish guarda-costas take a British vessel on the coast of America, which till this day, that a very doubtful, if not a different language is held, from a seat understood to be of great authority, it is stated in the memorial presented both to Sir Basil Keith at Jamaica, and the American secretary of state here, as a matter of certainty, that the armed vessels which seized the property of the petitioners were Spanish; that the language they spoke was Spanish; and that they hoisted Spanish colours. What then does the governor of Jamaica do? Why, by a kind of cross purposes, in the full spirit of contradiction, he supposes the most extraordinary and unaccountable supposition imaginable; he presumes, against every rule of presumptive evidence, that those Spanish guarda-costas were nothing less than American privateers. What does the secretary do? Why, in exact conformity to Sir Basil, he instantly thinks with the governor; he tells the petitioner, that the matter shall be inquired into; informs him of his mistake: but that is not all; after three months fruitless attendance at his Lordship's office, the nice political speculations of Sir Basil and his Lordship, proving, like other modern refinements, rather too fine spun, when the affidavit of Frederick Sund has convinced his Lordship, as well as the governor of Jamaica, that they were not American,



rican, but Spanish armed vessels, that made prize of the *Morning Star*; why, his Lordship very ingeniously informs Captain Blair, what he must have known from the beginning, that he had nothing at all to say to the business; and very politely refers him to the secretary of state for the southern department. This conduct in the noble Lord was, he contended, extremely reprehensible, and demanded inquiry; and if found true, called for the most signal displeasure of that House. If therefore he had no other motive for having the petition received, an inquiry into the facts now adverted to, would be sufficient for him. It was highly unbecoming a person occupying the office the noble Lord did; it was a delay, if not a hindrance of justice; and he presumed, the whole affair would have sunk in oblivion, till followed by other acts of a similar nature, if it had not been miraculously brought to light by the marvellous escape of Frederick Sund from the dungeon of Carthage.

Lord North said he rose to explain some matters, which he supposed had been misconceived or misrepresented by the honourable gentleman. He never said that there had been no legislative council, but he said there was no legislative council existing at the time, nor since the outrage complained of was committed. He allowed an attempt had been made to establish a legislative council, but he understood that it came to pieces, or to nothing. That he was right in saying that the superintendent, though named here, was appointed formally by the governor of Jamaica. (Here his illeeve was again pulled, and he was set right, as he was frequently in several other facts affirmed by him while up.) He was now informed, that the last superintendent of the Musquito shore was appointed here, as well as named, and was sent directly from hence. The main and strongest part of his argument went on the impropriety of the interference of the House of Commons in this stage of the business, in the beginning of a negotiation, the event of which no person could precisely foretell, nor indeed judge of. The true grounds of the conduct of Spain, our rights, and every thing included in either, were matters worthy of inquiry and discussion; but they were not now in a proper state for this mode of inquiry. The circumstances attending the seizure of the vessel, the real or pretended motive for such an outrage, were matters to be first known. It was said that the petitioner's case might deserve consideration and redress, taking the facts as stated, without going into the question at large, as respecting the Spanish court. To

such a mode of proceeding he had many objections. It would be a distinction without a difference, to redress the individual injury, and pass over the insult. It would be a collateral investigation of the matter, and would have the improper appearance of a tacit acquiescence in the outrage, if Parliament made satisfaction to the injured party, instead of procuring him redress from the Spanish court. His Lordship then proceeded to restate the facts relative to the several applications made by the petitioner, as he partly acknowledged having been more minutely and correctly informed of them in the interim between his first and second rising.

Hon. *T. Luttrell* said he was astonished to see the gallery, which in his opinion at all times ought to be open, kept constantly shut against strangers; but infinitely more so to see it open, when a noble Lord was to surrender the most sacred and inalienable rights of this country into the hands of a foreign power. He doubted not but both France and Spain had their emissaries in this country; and that what was now passing, would soon come to their knowledge. The language of the minister this day, would be soon interpreted to proceed from the most shameful timidity and pusillanimity. What their next demands might be, no man could foretell; but it might be well presumed they would rise proportionably to our want of spirit. Injuries should ever be speedily and vigorously redressed; to shrink from an appearance of danger, was in fact to create and augment it. Trifling insults, if not timely redressed, are usually productive of material injuries; the uniform history of all ages and countries gave the most ample testimony of this truth. It would be matter of infinite pleasure to them, to hear that the important and lucrative trade carried on in the Bay of Honduras, was depreciated as of little or no value, to furnish ministers with the more plausible pretext for its surrender, and all the rights on which it was founded. He then stated our pretensions to both the territory and the logwood trade, and quoted the treaty in 1670, in the reign of Charles the Second, as the basis of the right now disputed; shewed the foundation of that right, in the invitation and cession of the native Indians, and contended generally, whatever dormant claims Spain might have at different times renewed, the right of British subjects to cut logwood in the Bay of Honduras, was as clear and unequivocal a right as any enjoyed or exercised by any British community in the wide extent of this vast empire. Nay, the very words of the treaty alluded to, spoke literally to the point, for it mentioned

mentioned more particularly our settlements on the Black River on the Musquito shore, which was the precise place or district where the two Spanish guarda-costas had committed the depredations complained of. He then turned to the predicted delay and procrastination of the noble Lord, in his five times five months. He believed he might venture further; and asked, in point of appearances and humanity at least, if any steps were meant to be taken, either for the honour of the British nation, or the poor miserable wretches who were now perishing in chains in a Spanish dungeon, who, let the right be as it may, were clearly innocent of any crime, or any imputation of a crime. He was severe on what he termed the noble Lord's repeated blunders and mistakes, relative to the establishment of a legislative council on the Musquito shore; the appointment of a superintendant over that settlement, directly from hence; as well as the immediate communication between this country and the Bay of Honduras, through the means of the American department, and board of trade, not through the medium of the government of Jamaica, as his Lordship had mistakenly asserted. Indeed, he was inclined to doubt, from the specimen of the noble Lord's ignorance of any thing relative to our settlement on the Musquito shore, whether he so much as knew that any such country existed.

Lord North, in answer to Mr. Luttrell, said, that he observed persons were in the gallery at the time the honourable gentleman spoke; and as he did not take out his glass to see whether any other gentleman had come in since he first spoke, and as several might have since come in, who heard the honourable gentleman's interpretation of his expressions, and not the words or expressions themselves, he trusted those gentlemen would give him credit, when he positively affirmed, that he neither said that the trade to the Musquito shore was trifling, or ought to be relinquished; much less that any right, either commercial or political, ought to be surrendered. He repeated now, as he had frequently done in the course of the debate, that reparation must be sought and obtained in the usual manner; that ministers were not to blame in the least degree; that the present application was premature, and very improperly attempted to be introduced into the House of Commons, as the matter of complaint was in the hands of the secretary of state; and that the petitioner had not a colour of reason to support the present application, it not being in the

way of official discussion much above two months. He did not see that a single fact advanced by him had been materially contradicted.—As to the legislative council, after all that had been so confidently asserted upon that subject, he still believed that no such council existed. He had heard, that it was no sooner formed than dissolved; the settlers quarrelled among themselves; at least no kind of government authorized from home, was established there. [Here his Lordship was again corrected by Lord George Germaine.] He concluded, with disclaiming any great knowledge of, or being deeply versed in the science of geography; yet, he was not so entirely ignorant of it, as to suppose towns situated in the North Sea, lay within the shores of the Baltic.

Lord George Germaine confined his observations to his own personal justification. The first notice, he said, he had of the affair, was on the 5th of September last, when Sir Basil Keith represented it to him by letter, precisely as had been mentioned by an honourable gentleman, in the course of the debate [Mr. Fox]; with all that gentleman's ingenuity and abilities, he was yet to learn, what crime it was to believe that the depredation complained of had been committed by two American privateers, when it was impossible he could know the contrary, or indeed any thing at all relative to the subject. On the 25th of the same month Captain Blair called at his house, or his office, he forget which, and delivered a memorial, stating the facts and the grounds of his suspicions, for they could go no farther. As soon as he received Capt. Blair's memorial, he immediately wrote to Sir Basil Keith, to inquire into the nature of the affair, and discover the truth of the transaction. Much about the same time, he received an account from Sir Basil and the memorialist, stating the deposition of Frederick Sund, the mariner, on which, of course, the matter no longer rested in his office. If he was guilty of any procrastination, evasion, or delay, he was ready to abide the censure of the House; he, however, flattered himself he was not, but had acted in the strictest conformity to the established rules of office, as well as to his duty as one of his Majesty's ministers. He could take no step in it but what he did. If the act of piracy, as it was supposed to be, had been committed by an American privateer, he would do, and intended to do all in his power to procure an indemnification for the memorialists; as it was not there the matter went out of his hands; and he, very properly, referred Captain Blair to the

the only office through which there was a possibility of obtaining redress. This information came to his knowledge on the 15th or 16th of December; and on the 17th Lord Weymouth wrote the letter and received the answer mentioned by the noble Lord. Several letters have since passed and repassed on the subject; and while a matter of this importance was in such a state of negotiation, he thought it would be highly improper to take any step whatever in it, till the event of such negotiation was known.

Sir *Edward Astley* disclaimed any wish or desire of pressing any inquiry or discussion, either in or out of the House, which might be productive of hurrying us into a war with any foreign power. He was well satisfied this was no time for spirited measures against our natural enemies. We had already more than we should, he feared, be able to contend with; but still he would never accept as conclusive, any species of prudential reasoning, which might go to a surrender of any branch of trade, or territorial possession, we were fairly entitled to hold or enjoy. If we conceded in one point, another would soon be demanded of us; and the same reason would hold good in a second, a third, and a fourth, which held in the first, till nothing would be left us to grant. If such, then, were the designs of the court of Spain, he hoped, as a matter of prudence and policy, that we should resist in the first instance any such attempt, and never permit the honour and dignity of this country to be sacrificed to the ambition or weakness of ministers; or to the mad desire of carrying a favourite measure against our own subjects. He thought, therefore, whatever else might be done, it would be extremely proper to ascertain the facts, in order to let Spain know that the nation was not unacquainted with them; and that they had the spirit and inclination to do themselves justice, if justice should continue to be denied. He was pointed on the noble Lord in the blue riband, on an expression which dropped from him, relative to Lord Grantham's civil but firm representations to the Spanish minister. He feared we were rather too civil; and that the boasted firmness was hazarded in consequence of the great civility with which it was accompanied. Such kinds of civility and firmness might lead to contempt and disgrace; he was certain it would never procure an honourable reparation or substantial satisfaction.

Right honourable *T. Townshend* asserted, that the whole affair was an insult on the British flag, and on the British nation in general. He laughed at the doubts of the

noble Lord in the blue riband, respecting the right to the territory in question, and all the subordinate privileges included in that right. He expressed his astonishment at the unfeeling confidence of ministers, who could thus wantonly renounce every claim to humanity, as well as every attention to the honour of their country, by treating with so much levity and inattention the sufferings of their fellow-subjects, the tortures of British seamen, freed daily, perhaps, by death, from the intolerable miseries of a Spanish dungeon.

He could not help expressing his astonishment on the noble Lord who spoke first, offering to explain what he was totally ignorant of, or what, being well informed of, he chose to disguise and misrepresent: he was confident, that there was scarcely a single person but his Lordship, that was ignorant that a civil government, dependant immediately on this country, was established near the Black River, on the Musquito shore. It was notorious, that Lord Dartmouth, while in office, made it an object of his attention; nay, he remembered himself, an old acquaintance, a captain in the guards, since dead, who was appointed here, to that government; he having several conversations with him, after his return, on the subject of that colony, the degree of improvement it was capable of admitting, and its peculiar importance to the West India islands, and to the general trade carried on in that part of the world.

Mr. C. Herbert closed the debate, with observing, that after all that had been offered in the course of the debate, two points were clearly incontrovertible, which went equally against the grounds of the petition, allowing that every single fact contained in it was correctly stated; one was, that administration hitherto had acquitted themselves properly in every thing that depended on them; and that the matter was in a state of negotiation; so that supposing the petition intended as a complaint, or as seeking redress from that House, there was not the least foundation for either the complaint, or the redress sought by the petitioner.

The question was put, whether the petition should be brought up? It passed in the negative. There was no division.

The following authentic papers illustrate this debate.

*To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, the humble Petition of Alexander Blair, in behalf of himself and Doctor Charles Irving,*

Sheweth,

THAT Lord Dartmouth having transmitted instructions to the governor of Jamaica, in August 1775, for establishing a legislative council on the Musquito shore, to be chosen by the inhabitants, for the better government of that colony; Doctor Charles Irving, and your petitioner, induced by this arrangement, formed a plan for settling in that country, and embarked the greatest part of their property in it, firmly trusting that it would be equally protected there, as in any other part of the British dominions. They communicated their plan to Lord Dartmouth, then secretary of state for the colonies, who highly approved of it, assured them of every encouragement and protection in the power of government to give, and requested of them to carry home the son and brother of the Musquito king, and two other Indian chiefs, then in England.

That on the 30th of April last, the sloop Morning Star, belonging to Doctor Charles Irving and your petitioner, was lying at anchor, under British colours, in the road before Black River, the principal British settlement on the Musquito shore, and in sight of the King's house, and was there forcibly seized by two Spanish guarda-costas, commanded by Don Juan Castello and Antonio Yepe, by whom the unhappy mariners were tied together, and made captives, and carried along with the vessel to Carthagena.

That this most daring and unprecedented outrage was committed without a possibility of alleging that any thing had been done by the owners, or their agents, which could afford the slightest pretence for it.

That immediate intelligence of this unjustifiable outrage was sent by the superintendant and council of the Musquito shore, to Sir Basil Keith, governor of Jamaica (the colony being at present an appendage to that government); notwithstanding which no steps were taken to reclaim the vessel and seamen, until the latter end of October, when a frigate was sent to Carthagena, by admiral Gayton, who positively refused to permit Doctor Irving, one of the owners, to go in the frigate, to assist the Captain in his application for redress.

That the governor of Carthagena acknowledges the capture,

ture, by vessels commissioned by the King of Spain, but said he had no power or authority to order restitution.

That your petitioner had taken the earliest opportunity of returning to England, to lay before his Majesty's ministers an authentic account of this extraordinary transaction; and on the 25th of September presented to Lord George Germaine a memorial on the subject, with an attested estimate of the actual loss immediately sustained, amounting to 2659l. 12s. 10d. sterling, besides the total ruin of their project.

That his Lordship expressed many doubts of the outrage having been committed by Spanish vessels, and seemed desirous of waiting for further information from the governor of Jamaica, before any application for redress should be made to the court of Spain.

That your petitioner having received an affidavit of Frederick Sund (one of the seamen taken in the sloop Morning Star, and who had escaped from Carthagena), made before Thomas French, custos and chief judge of the court of common pleas of Kingston in Jamaica, giving a detail of the transaction, enclosed a copy of the same, on the 17th of December, to Lord George Germaine, who seemed still desirous of making further delays; but being pressed by your petitioner for redress, referred him to Lord Weymouth, in whose office he was then told this business would be transacted. Your petitioner has now waited two months longer, making in the whole five months since his first application to Lord George Germaine, and is still told that no answer whatever has yet been received from the court of Spain, from whence he sees no prospect of redress, without the interposition of this Honourable House.

In the course of this application for redress, your petitioner wrote the following letters and memorial to the different public officers, to whom they are addressed, viz.

*Extract of a Letter from Alexander Blair to Sir Basil Keith, governor of Jamaica, &c. &c. &c. dated Black River, Musquito shore.*

SIR,

May 3d, 1776.

I HAVE the misfortune to inform your Excellency, that the sloop Morning Star, belonging to Doctor Charles Irving and myself, was, on the 30th of last month, forcibly seized, and carried away, by two Spanish guarda-costas, from the usual anchoring ground, near the mouth of this river.

As



As we have never been to the southward of Great River, in latitude  $12^{\circ} 47'$ , nor to the westward of this place, nor have not had any trade or intercourse with any place or person belonging to Spain, I am afraid that this step can only be considered as an avowed declaration of their intention to seize every vessel they find on any part of this coast; which if permitted, must at once annihilate this promising colony.

As many of my papers have been carried away with the sloop, I have not been able to make out so minute a detail of our loss as I could wish; but I can assure your Excellency, that from the best estimate I have been able to form, it amounts to three thousand five hundred and nine pounds eight shillings, Jamaica currency, besides the great detriment we sustain, from the loss of many of our plantation stores, the incompleteness of those already landed, and the want of a proper vessel to keep up an intercourse with Jamaica, for the procuring slaves, and many necessaries.

*Copy of a Memorial presented to Lord George Germaine,  
September 25th, 1776.*

To the right honourable Lord George Germaine, one of  
his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, &c. &c. &c.

The memorial of Alexander Blair, in behalf of himself  
and Doctor Charles Irving,

Humbly sheweth,

THAT on the 30th of April 1776, the sloop Morning Star, belonging to your Lordship's memorialists, was forcibly seized, as she lay at anchor in the road before Black River, the chief British settlement on the Musquito shore, by two Spanish armed sloops, and was by them carried away.

That by this illegal capture your memorialists not only sustained an immediate loss, amounting to upwards of two thousand six hundred pounds sterling, as appears by the attested account presented herewith, but they are far more essentially injured, by the total derangement of their plan for settling on the Musquito shore; a plan in the prosecution of which they were not without well-founded hopes of making discoveries and improvements, that must have proved advantageous to themselves, and highly beneficial to the manufactures and commerce of Great Britain.

That

That your memorialists are now deterred from risking any more of their property, in that country, from an apprehension, that this most daring and unprecedented outrage can only be considered as an open and avowed declaration on the part of Spain, of an intention to seize every vessel they meet with, on any part of the Musquito shore; for there could not otherwise be formed even the shadow of a pretence for seizing the above-mentioned sloop, which had not (from the time of her leaving England) been near any part of the Spanish dominions, nor had any trade or intercourse been carried on by her means, with any place or person subject to the crown of Spain.

Your memorialists submit the whole to your Lordship's most impartial consideration; firmly trusting that such steps will be taken, as may procure them the most speedy and effectual redress, and place a colony capable of being made equal to any in the West Indies, in security.

*Copy of the account of damages presented with the foregoing memorial.*

Estimate of the loss sustained by Mess. Blair and Irving, by the capture of the sloop Morning Star (David Miller master), in the road of Black River, on the Musquito shore, on the 30th day of April 1776.

Five copper stills, about 300 gallons each, so made as to serve occasionally for boilers, for sundry purposes	£.	s.	d.
	300	0	0
Two iron boilers, about 400 gallons each	20	0	0
Three large iron presses, with screws, plates, &c. complete for making oil	120	0	0
Upwards of 13000 bricks	13	0	0
Sheet lead, at least 18cwt.	14	0	0
A quantity of cast iron bars and plates, cost at least	16	0	0
A plough and sundry other implements of husbandry, cost at least	30	0	0
	<hr/>		
	513	0	0

The above is the prime cost of the different articles in England; such plantation stores are never sold in this country for less than double the sum in Jamaica currency, which the prime cost amounted to, freight, insurance, and shipping charges,

charges, being always considered as part of the prime cost, which charges for the above articles cannot be stated at less than 40l. which being added to the above, makes the whole of the prime cost amount to 553l. the double of which is 1106l.

		£.	s.	d.
The above articles were therefore worth in this country, at least 1106l. Jamaica currency		1106	0	0
Gunpowder 3325 pounds, at 12l. per 100lb.		399	0	0
Lead shot at least 30cwt. at 40s. per cwt.		60	0	0
Musquets 47 at 40s. each		94	0	0
Fowling-pieces two. at 100s. each		10	0	0
An anchor of about 300 weight, and 12 small anchors and grapplings, value at least		45	0	0
A puncheon filled with lines and twine		27	10	0
Russia drab, value at least		15	0	0
Osnaburghs, at least 2200 yards, at 1s. per yard		110	0	0
Seventy-two deer-skins at 2s. 6d ; 36lb. tortoise-shell, at 7s. 6d.		22	10	0
Sundry articles of ironmongery and haberdashery, the particulars of which cannot possibly be recollected, but which are under-rated at		100	0	0
Wine, porter, tea, sugar, and sundry other cabin stores, value at least		36	0	0
Cash, at least		8	10	0
The sloop Morning Star, as appears by the affidavit of David Miller master, was worth		1400	0	0

£.3433 10 0

The articles in this second part (the sloop excepted) are charged at the wholesale price of this place, and most of them were in great demand, and could have been sold at that rate, and cash, good bills, or produce that would have made a profitable remittance, immediately received in payment.

*Estimate of the loss sustained by Alexander Blair.*

Wearing apparel, at least	£.120	0	0
Books, charts, instruments, and arms	90	0	0
Bedding and furniture	40	0	0
Cash, at least	40	0	0

290 0 0

Loss sustained by Blair and Irving as above 3433 10 0

£.3723 10 0

Black

Black River, }  
Musquito shore. } ff.

This day Alexander Blair appeared before me John Bourke, Esq. *custos rotularum*, and one of his Majesty's justices of the peace for the Musquito shore, and being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, deposeth and saith, that the above estimate (amounting in the whole to the sum of 3723l. 10s. Jamaica currency, or 2659l. 12s. 10d. sterling money of Great Britain) is a just and true account of the loss sustained by Doctor Charles Irving and this deponent, according to the best of this deponent's judgment and recollection; that several of the papers relating to the cargo, being carried away with the sloop, some parts of the above estimate are formed from memory, but in such parts this deponent has been extremely careful rather to under-rate than to over-rate the same. They suffer a still farther and very serious damage, by being deprived of the above stores intended for a plantation which they are now carrying on at Great River, on the Musquito shore, and by the incompleteness of those already landed, many of which cannot be replaced in this country; and by the loss of the sloop they are deprived of the means of keeping up an intercourse with Jamaica; an intercourse essentially necessary in the prosecution of their plan, being the only place where they could procure slaves and many other necessities for their plantation; and they are still further sufferers, by the necessity which this deponent deems himself under of returning to England, in order to lay before his Majesty's ministers a circumstantial and well-authenticated relation of this most extraordinary act of violence; which voyage will unavoidably be attended with a considerable expense, and great loss of time, and be highly detrimental to the affairs (in this country) of Doctor Charles Irving and this deponent; all which damages it is impossible at this time to set any just value upon. This deponent further says, that there were on board the sloop, sundry promissory notes, receipts for money left in England, as a fund of credit, and sundry accepted bills of exchange, all belonging to this deponent, and that if some of these papers fall into the hands of bad men, this deponent may be thereby put to a very great trouble and expense, and by the loss of others, his property may be withheld from him; but as the damage which may be incurred by this loss depends so much on circumstances, no charge is made for it. There were also on board the sloop many papers, of great importance to this deponent in his future views in

in life; but which he must not pretend to set a value upon. This deponent further saith, that from the day on which the sloop *Morning Star* sailed from England, until the day on which she was taken, she never had been to the southward of Great River, in latitude  $12^{\circ} 47' N.$  nor to the westward of Black River, both on the Musquito shore, nor had any trade or intercourse been carried on by her means, with any place or person subject to the crown of Spain.

ALEX. BLAIR.

Sworn before me this 17th day of

July 1776.

JOHN BOURKE.

*Copy of a letter to Lord George Germaine.*

MY LORD,

IT is now three months since I had the honour of delivering to your Lordship a memorial, in behalf of Doctor Charles Irving and myself, complaining of the illegal capture of the sloop *Morning Star*, in the road before Black River, by two Spanish armed sloops, without any justifiable cause whatever, to the total ruin of your petitioners' affairs in that part of the world.

Your Lordship was then pleased to say, that you could not believe that the vessels who committed this unjustifiable outrage belonged to the Spanish nation, but seemed rather to suppose they might be vessels from North America.

By the fortunate escape of some of the sailors belonging to the said sloop *Morning Star*, I have now the honour to transmit to your Lordship the copy of an affidavit made by Frederick Sund, one of the mariners, before Thomas French, *custos* and chief judge of the court of common pleas, of Kingston, in Jamaica, the original of which is in my possession; whereby it appears that the vessels who took the *Morning Star* were not only Spanish vessels, but holding commissions immediately under the King of Spain, the one called *Pacifico*, of fourteen guns, commanded by Don Juan Castello, the other the *Recurso*, of twelve guns, commanded by Antonio Yepe; with all other particulars of the capture, as set forth in the affidavit.

Feeling what is due to men in high authority, at critical moments, I have waited with the utmost patience, agreeable to your Lordship's request; now the facts are uncontroversial, and feeling also the protection that is due to us as British subjects, I venture to hope that my submissive delay will be a means of procuring us more speedy justice in the end.

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I beg

I beg leave to put your Lordship in mind, that neither Doctor Irving nor myself, who are both well known in this country, and have held respectable commissions under his Majesty, can be classed with those random buccaneers, who sometimes force an illicit trade with the Spanish colonies; we undertook this project with the approbation, if not at the desire of government, in hopes it might prove beneficial to ourselves, and the nation at large; and we were absolutely promised, that in case the project succeeded, and any alterations in the duties on oils, or other articles, should be found necessary, that they would be moved in Parliament, and even bounties proposed in certain events.

After expending so much of our money and time in completing the necessaries for such an undertaking; after undergoing the fatigues of a voyage, of such a length, in so sultry a climate, just at the time when we had brought so many concurring circumstances to bear, to find our vessel, carrying English colours, lying in a road under his Majesty's protection, thus violently swept away, without a possibility of alleging there was the least infraction of the slightest pun&ilio, much less any crime; and the unhappy mariners tied together, and made captives, in so disgraceful a manner; all those things call so loudly for redress, that I am persuaded they will raise your Lordship's indignation, and that we shall now find you the warmest intercessor with his Majesty, in obtaining us compensation for our losses, and vindicating our country's wrongs.

I am, with great respect,

Your Lordship's most obedient  
and most humble servant,

London, 17th Dec. 1776.

ALEX. BLAIR.

P. S. I will call regularly at your Lordship's office every day, at 12 o'clock, for three days successively, to shew the original affidavit before Judge French, whose hand-writing is well known in this town, and will be ready to attend your Lordship at any other time you are pleased to command me. I lodge at Mr. Holland's in Oxendon Street.

To the right honourable Lord George Germaine.

*Copy of an affidavit of Frederick Sund.*

Jamaica, ff.

FREDERICK SUND, of the parish of Kingston, in the county of Surry, and island of Jamaica, mariner, late belonging to a certain sloop called the Morning Star, being duly sworn, maketh oath, and saith, That on the thirtieth day of  
April

April last, the said sloop Morning Star was lying at anchor near the bar of Black River, on the Musquito shore: and this deponent further saith, that two guarda-costas, belonging to his Most Catholic Majesty, the Pacifico of fourteen guns, commanded by Don Juan Castello, and the Recurso of twelve guns, commanded by Antonio Yepe, under Dutch colours, bore down upon the said sloop, while at anchor as aforesaid (she having English colours hoisted); whereupon the said guarda-costas hauled down the Dutch colours, and the Pacifico hailed the said sloop Morning Star, and asked, "From whence came ye?" and being answered, "From London and Jamaica," she again asked, "Have you any flour, or other provisions?" and was answered, "Only for our own use." And after so hailing the said sloop, they the said Don Juan Castello and Antonio Yepe came on board the said sloop, and the said Don Juan Castello asked, "Who the vessel belonged to?" he was answered, "To Messrs. Irving and Blair;" and also asked, "What is the master's name?" and he was answered, "David Miller, who is on shore." And this deponent further saith, that as soon as they the said Don Juan Castello and Antonio Yepe came on board the sloop Morning Star, they ordered the English colours to be hauled down, which was accordingly done, and then asked if there were any ammunition on board, when they were answered only some powder and muskets for our own use; and they also asked, "Have you sent any powder on shore?" and they were answered, "Some to the superintendant at Black River." And this deponent further saith, that after their said questions were answered, the said Don Juan Castello ordered some armed men to come on board, who, by his command, tied the sloop's crew, two by two (except David Robinson the boatswain, who continued on board the said sloop some days after), and put them on board the Pacifico, while the Spaniards took possession of the said sloop Morning Star, and proceeded to Port Bello, and from thence to Carthagena, from which last mentioned place this deponent made his escape.

Sworn before me  
this 20th day of Sept. 1776.

his  
FREDERICK X SUND.  
mark.

T. FRENCH, *custos*, &c. Kingston.

*Copy of a letter to Lord Weymouth.*

MY LORD,

I PRESENTED a memorial to Lord George Germaine, three months ago, complaining of the illegal capture of the sloop *Morning Star*, belonging to Doctor Charles Irving and myself, by two Spanish armed sloops, on the Musquito shore, a copy of which is here enclosed.

Having received a circumstantial account of the capture, by an affidavit of Frederick Sund, one of the sailors, taken before Thomas French, *custos* and chief justice of the court of Common Pleas of Kingston, in Jamaica, I wrote the enclosed letter to Lord George Germaine, on the 17th instant, and in a conversation with his Lordship on the 19th, respecting this letter, I was told that the papers relative to this outrage would be transmitted to your Lordship's office, which I can by no means lament, considering what has passed, and believing, from your manly character, that there will be now no longer any delay in procuring satisfaction for our losses, and vindicating the national honour.

It never was my wish to hurry administration into a discussion with the court of Spain, at an improper season; I delayed from pressing my business, in deference to their situation, although I had crossed the Atlantic for redress; now I am transferred to another office, and my conduct, in this respect, treated as weakness; I beg it may be understood, that any delay in demanding from the crown of Spain that satisfaction which the case requires, is not with my consent.

It must be evident to your Lordship, that until redress is fully obtained in this case, the inhabitants of that country can have no security for their property, and are thereby deterred from engaging, with any degree of spirit, in the cultivation of many commodities, which the colony is very happily situated for producing; commodities essentially necessary to the manufactures of Great Britain, but which are at present principally furnished by the colonies of France and Spain, our West India islands being prevented by the scarcity of land, and other local disadvantages, from engaging in the culture of them to any extent.

It was alleged by Lord George Germaine, in the last conversation I had the honour to hold with his Lordship, that the Spaniards had never acquiesced in our title to the Musquito shore; but I must beg leave to observe, that there are no vestiges of their having ever possessed that part of the  
country



country where the English are settled, and which was voluntarily ceded to King William \*, by the unconquered natives; that the English have ever since retained possession; and as his Majesty has lately been graciously pleased to establish a legislative council, for the better governing of the colony, it would be a deception of his subjects, and a national disgrace, to permit their property to be seized under these circumstances, by any power whatever.

I shall be ready at any time to wait on your Lordship, to give every information in my power concerning this unprecedented act of violence, and to explain the commercial advantages that may be derived from the colony.

I am, with the greatest respect,

Your Lordship's most obedient,  
and most humble servant,

London, Dec. 23, 1776.

ALEX. BLAIR.

I lodge at Mr. Holland's, Oxendon Street.

*Copy of a letter to Lord Weymouth.*

MY LORD,

I CALLED on your Lordship yesterday morning, to have had the honour of some conversation respecting the sloop Morning Star; Sir Stanier Porten told me it would be proper to put my business in writing, which I now do.

I am informed, my Lord, that the Governor of Jamaica, Sir Basil Keith, has transmitted to Lord George Germaine a copy of his letter to the governor of Carthagena, demanding restitution and satisfaction to the owners (being Doctor Irving and myself) of the sloop Morning Star, which was taken by two Spanish guarda-costas, commanded by Don Juan Castello and Antonio Yepe, as she lay at anchor, in sight of the King's House, at Black River, on the Musquito shore, as also the Spanish governor's answer, acknowledging the capture by vessels commissioned by the King of Spain, but declaring that he could not order restitution.

My first anxiety is, to know if these letters have been transmitted to your Lordship, who, I am persuaded, notwithstanding the delays that have hitherto taken place in this business, will lose no time in vindicating the honour of the

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\* Mr. Blair has since discovered, that what he considered as the original cession of the Musquito shore, was only a confirmation of the original cession, which was made in the reign of King Charles the First.

nation, and doing justice to every particular member of the community.

If it should be deemed impolitic, as I am given to understand at another place, to press the Spanish court for redress, at the present moment, I hope your Lordship will consider the great hardship upon Doctor Irving and myself, from such a proceeding, who embarked the greatest part of our property in this adventure, under the sanction and encouragement of government, under the faith of protection, where his Majesty had established a legislative council, and displayed his colours, and where no one improper act on our part, or our agents, can be alleged as the cause of the capture; and therefore your Lordship must see, that the point in issue in this business is the right of the nation to the settlement on the Musquito shore, which Great Britain has so long maintained, and lately settled, under a more regular form of government, as set forth in my former memorials; and therefore I expect, if the system of procrastination should be adopted, that your Lordship will give me explicit assurances, in writing, that the public will, in the mean time, pay the loss sustained by Doctor Irving and myself, according to the account I have rendered; otherwise, after waiting so long, I shall think it my duty to prefer a petition to Parliament; and although there may be little hopes of success through that channel where the King's ministers do not approve, yet it is a duty I owe to my absent friend, Doctor Irving, to use every means for redress the constitution has given to an injured subject, conscious of the justice of my claim, whatever be the event.

I am, with the greatest respect to your Lordship,

Your obedient and most humble servant,

Oxendon Street,

ALEX. BLAIR.

Jan. 31, 1777.

All which your petitioner humbly submits to this honourable House, and prays such relief as they in their wisdom shall think fit.

February 24, 1777.

ALEXANDER BLAIR.

*Copy of the protest of David Miller, late master of the sloop Morning Star.*

*Great Black River, } ff.  
Musquito shore. }*

BY this public instrument of protest, be it known and manifest to all whom it may concern, that on the first day of May,

May, in the year of our Lord God one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six, David Miller, late master of the sloop or vessel called the Morning Star, burden one hundred and thirty tons, or thereabouts, plantation built, and British property, personally appeared before me, John Bourke, Esquire, one of his Majesty's justices, and *custos rotulorum* on the Musquito shore, in North America (no notary public being then on the Musquito shore); and the said appearer, David Miller, did then solemnly intimate, declare, testify, protest, and say, that the aforesaid sloop or vessel called the Morning Star cleared out at the custom-house in London for Jamaica and the Musquito shore, at the latter of which places the said vessel arrived about the middle of February last past; Alexander Blair and Charles Irving then being passengers on board of her, and the said vessel continued at different parts of the said Musquito shore until about noon on Tuesday the thirtieth day of April last past; that about the hour of eleven in the forenoon of the said Tuesday, the said vessel was lying at anchor off Great Black River (the chief British settlement) on the Musquito shore aforesaid, with British colours flying, when two armed sloops, or vessels, came in from sea, with Dutch jacks at their topmast heads, and anchored at a very small distance from the aforesaid vessel called the Morning Star; and soon after their anchoring, as aforesaid, they (the said armed vessels) sent two boats, or launches, with a great many men, on board of the said vessel called the Morning Star, and according to the best of the aforesaid appearer's knowledge and belief, took possession of her, at the same time striking the British colours, and putting the said vessel (called the Morning Star) under sail, the same armed vessels also getting under sail, when all the aforesaid three sloops or vessels stood out to sea, and were seemingly close hauled to the wind; and the aforesaid appearer further saith, he hath been assured that the aforesaid two armed sloops or vessels struck their Dutch jacks nearly at the same time with the striking of the British colours which were on board of the aforesaid vessel called the Morning Star; but the said appearer cannot say whether the said Dutch jacks were hauled down before or after the aforesaid boats or launches got on board the said vessel called the Morning Star. And the aforesaid appearer further saith, that during the short time the said two armed vessels continued at their anchors as aforesaid, the said appearer heard three guns fired, but did not at that time certainly know by whom the same were fired, though he hath since been assured

that one of the aforesaid boats or launches fired some small arms, and the smallest of the said two armed vessels fired three guns at a small sloop or vessel called the Polly, owned by British subjects, resident on the Musquito shore aforesaid, then commanded by John Coffil, and which the said above-mentioned small vessel ran very close in along shore, and escaped to the westward, with a signal of distress, while the aforesaid armed vessels were employing their aforesaid boats or launches to take the said vessel called the Morning Star, and on board of which said vessel the Morning Star there were six British subjects, and one Swede, at the time of her illegal capture as aforesaid; to wit, the mate and six seamen which belonged unto her, the aforesaid Charles Irving having been left at Great River, on the aforesaid Musquito shore, and the aforesaid Alexander Blair, together with the aforesaid appearer David Miller, and one seaman, being about necessary business on shore at Great Black River aforesaid. And the aforesaid appearer further saith, he hath been assured, that after the aforesaid two armed vessels stood out to sea, in company with the aforesaid vessel called the Morning Star, the largest of the said armed vessels hoisted a broad pendant, and the other hoisted a long pendant, both of which, as the said appearer hath been also assured, appeared to be blue, and which said pendants, and the Dutch jacks, were all the colours which were, according to the best of the aforesaid appearer's knowledge and belief, hoisted, or in any manner shewn, by the aforesaid captors, while either of the said armed vessels, or their aforesaid illegal capture, remained in sight of the aforesaid chief British settlement. And the aforesaid appearer further saith, that from the first time of the aforesaid vessel the Morning Star's arrival at the Musquito shore aforesaid, until the very instant of her being illegally taken and carried away as aforesaid, she the aforesaid sloop or vessel called the Morning Star never was at any place unto the southward of Great River, the mouth of which is nearly in latitude twelve degrees and forty-seven minutes north, on the aforesaid Musquito shore, nor hath she ever been, within the said time, at any place unto the westward of Great Black River, the chief British settlement aforesaid; nether has there at any time been any trade or intercourse whatsoever carried on, or even attempted to be carried on, with any Spanish subject whatsoever, by means of the said vessel called the Morning Star, or by means of any the merchandise or other effects at any time or times on board of her, during the time from her first arrival until her illegal capture as aforesaid; neither has the said vessel

called the Morning Star ever had (during any part of the said time, from about the middle of February last past, until she was illegally boarded and taken as aforesaid) any kind whatsoever of Spanish property or produce on board of her; and at the time of her being so taken and carried away, the remains of her cargo, which she brought from England, and then had on board, consisted of a great quantity of plantation stores, and sundry other goods, which were all and every part thereof intended to be landed on the aforesaid Musquito shore, had not the said capture prevented the said landing thereof; and the said plantation stores, and sundry other goods taken and carried away as aforesaid, do amount to a very considerable value, which cannot at present be exactly ascertained by the aforesaid appearer David Miller, as all the papers which he had relative thereto, were on board of the said vessel called the Morning Star, at the time of her being illegally taken and carried away as aforesaid. And he the said appearer doth verily believe the said sloop called the Morning Star is such a good vessel, that she could have been sold in Jamaica (before her aforesaid illegal capture) for the sum of one thousand and four hundred pounds current money of Jamaica, or thereabouts; and he the said appearer doth also verily believe the aforesaid two armed vessels were and are Spanish property, and navigated by Spanish subjects; and therefore he the aforesaid appearer David Miller hath solemnly declared to protest, and desired an act of me the aforesaid John Bourke, Esq. as *custos rotulorum* on the aforesaid Musquito shore (no notary public being then on the Musquito shore), to serve and avail him the said appearer David Miller, and all others concerned in the aforesaid sloop or vessel called the Morning Star, or concerned in her cargo, when and where it should or may be requisite. Wherefore I, the aforesaid John Bourke, Esq. one of his Majesty's justices, and *custos rotulorum* on the Musquito shore aforesaid (no notary public being then on the Musquito shore), at the request aforesaid, did solemnly protest, and by these presents do hereby solemnly protest against the aforesaid two armed sloops or vessels, or their boats or launches, and every person and persons whatsoever, who was or were on board the said armed sloops or vessels, or on board of their boats and launches, or that was or were, in any manner whatsoever, assisting or concerned in taking and carrying or sending away, as aforesaid, the aforesaid sloop called the Morning Star, for all losses, damages, costs, and detriments whatsoever,

soever, already in any way suffered or sustained, or which shall or may be hereafter in any manner suffered or sustained, by reason or means of the aforesaid capture, to be all had and recovered in time and place, as of right shall appertain. This was thus done and protested at Great Black River (the chief British settlement), on the Musquito shore, in North America, in the presence of John Gallin and Thomas Marriott Perkins, witnesses thereunto requested.

DAVID MILLER.

Witnesses, JOHN GALLIN.

THOMAS MARRIOTT PERKINS.

David Miller, late master of the sloop called the Morning Star, mentioned in the foregoing protest, came this day before me, the aforesaid John Bourke, Esq. *custos rotulorum*; as aforesaid, and duly made oath on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, that the foregoing protest, as to the substance thereof, is true in every particular, as therein specified.

DAVID MILLER.

Sworn before me at Great Black River aforesaid, this first day of May, in the year of our Lord God one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six.

JOHN BOURKE.

The four following depositions were taken in presence of the legislative council, of which the superintendant is president.

*Copy of the deposition of Thomas Archdeacon, mariner.*

*Black River, Musquito shore, fl.*

PERSONALLY appeared before me, his Majesty's chief justice of the peace for the said Inore, Thomas Archdeacon, mariner, who made oath on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, deposeth and sayeth, that the this deponent being at Black River aforesaid, about eleven o'clock, being the thirtieth day of April last, he saw two sloops come to anchor off Black River Bar, under Dutch colours, which colours were soon after hauled down; this deponent looking at them with a spy-glass, imagined that they were vessels of force, and were full of men; a short time after this deponent saw a launch, or boat, go on board the sloop Morning Star, David Miller master, the being at an anchor likewise, and had an English pendant and ensign hoisted, and that immediately as the boat or launch went on board he saw them struck. Presently after, he saw a jack hoisted in the starboard shrouds, and another launch, or boat, went then on board, when this deponent observed

served that the jack was hauled down, and about half an hour after, he this deponent saw the Morning Star under sail, and the other two sloops immediately followed her; one of them hoisted a long pendant, and the other a broad pendant, but cannot tell what colours they were. And further this deponent saith not.

THOMAS ARCHDEACON.

I have examined the above deposition, and compared it with the original, and find it to be a true copy. JOHN BOURKE.

Sworn before me this 3d of May 1776.

JOHN BOURKE.

*Copy of the deposition of David Lamb, surveyor.*

*Black River, Musquito shore, fl.*

PERSONALLY appeared before me, his Majesty's chief justice of the peace for the said shore, David Lamb, surveyor, who made oath on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, depose and saith, that on the thirtieth day of April last, about twelve o'clock at noon, he this deponent, being at Black River aforesaid, and hearing that two strange sloops were come to, off the bar, and that a third sloop was under sail, this deponent went to the beach on the sea-side to view them, and in his way heard several guns fired: when he this deponent got on the beach, he saw the sloop Morning Star, and the two strange sloops, at anchor, and a fourth under sail, which was a sloop belonging to himself, named the Nancy, whereof John Coffell was master, which sloop Nancy stood in so close for the shore, that this deponent supposed the people in her intended to run her on shore, and the said sloop Nancy had her colours hoisted in her shrouds: this deponent observed that the other three sloops had no colours, and told Captain Thomas Archdeacon of it, when Captain Archdeacon (who got on the beach a few minutes before this deponent) said he saw the colours of the sloop Morning Star hauled down. This deponent observed the two strange sloops to be full of men, and appeared like armed vessels, and saw two boats full of men go from the said strange sloops on board the sloop Morning Star, and in little more than half an hour he this deponent saw the said sloop Morning Star under sail, and presently after the two strange sloops followed her; the three sloops stood out to sea, that is, to the northward; the fourth, which did belong to this deponent, went to Prenaw Creek. And further this deponent saith not.

DAVID LAMB.

Sworn before me this 6th

day of May 1776.

JOHN BOURKE.

*Copy*

*Copy of the deposition of Richard Burrell, mariner.*

*Black River, Musquito shore, ff.*

PERSONALLY appeared before me, his Majesty's chief justice of the peace for the said shore, Richard Burrell, mariner, who made oath on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, that he this deponent was a passenger on board the sloop Nancy, John Coffell master, on a voyage from Prenaw Creek to Cape Gracias a Deos, on the said shore, and that on Monday the twenty-ninth day of April last, about nine o'clock in the evening of that day, the moon shining very bright, the afore-said sloop Nancy being then about eight leagues to the northward of Puttook River, they fell in with two Spanish guarda-costas, the smallest of which fired a gun, and brought the said sloop Nancy to; at the same time she hoisted Spanish colours, and then hailed in Spanish first, and in English afterwards, to know where the said sloop Nancy had come from, and where she was bound to? John Coffell, master of said sloop, answered, From Prenaw Creek, and bound to Cape Gracias a Deos; on which the smallest guarda-costa went ahead, and then the largest came alongside of said sloop Nancy, and hailed her in the same manner that the small guarda-costa did, and asked what she was loaded with? to which they were answered, that she was only in ballast; on which the guarda-costa ordered the said sloop Nancy to heave to, and kept her in that manner until three o'clock on Tuesday morning, when the guarda-costa hailed, and asked what provisions were on board? to which Captain Coffell answered, he had none, but would be glad that the Spaniards would spare him a barrel of bread or barrel of flour, at the same time asking why they detained him so long? The Spaniards then asked the bearings and distance of the island of Bonaca, and what vessels were at Black River? to which this deponent answered, that Bonaca bore west by north, and Captain Coffell answered that there was a brig and schooner at Black River; they, the Spaniards, then told the people on board the sloop Nancy that they might go about their business. On which the said sloop Nancy bore away for Black River, her sails being bad, and about seven o'clock the same morning they saw the two Spanish sloops under Dutch colours, and standing in for Black River, where he this deponent saw them at anchor about twelve o'clock at noon, the said sloop Nancy run down by the said Spanish sloops, not suspecting that any hostility was intended; the largest Spanish sloop hailed



hailed the said sloop Nancy, and ordered her to come alongside; to which one of the Nancy's people answered, that as soon as she got a little further in, they would heave to for them; by this time this deponent saw a launch or boat coming towards said sloop Nancy, full of men, and he verily believes there were twenty men in her at least, all armed with cutlasses and small arms: they soon came alongside said sloop Nancy, and called for a rope, but none was handed; on which the bowman hooked the quarter rail with his boat-hook: the foresail being by this time hoisted, gave the sloop Nancy such way on her that the bowman in the boat or launch was obliged to let the boat-hook go, and instantly the people in the boat or launch fired four muskets, two of which hit the said sloop, and the smallest guarda-costa fired three cannon: as soon as the launch or boat left the said sloop Nancy, this deponent saw her or another go on board a large sloop that was then at anchor, which sloop had an English pendant and ensign hoisted, and presently after the boat or launch go on board the said sloop, he observed the colours were struck, which sloop this deponent has been since informed is the sloop Morning Star, David Miller master; and this deponent sayeth, that in about an hour after said launch or boat got on board said sloop Morning Star, he saw her and the other two sloops under way, and standing to the northward; and this deponent sayeth, that the middle cloth in the mainsails of the above two sloops were black; and this deponent sayeth, that the largest sloop, he believes, had fourteen cannon mounted, and the smallest sloop had twelve cannon mounted, and that both sloops were full of men. And further this deponent sayeth not.

RICHARD BURRELL.

Sworn before me this 3d

day of May 1776. JOHN BOURKE.

*Copy of the deposition of John Coffell, master of the sloop Nancy.*

*Black River, Musquito shore, fl.*

PERSONALLY appeared before me, his Majesty's chief justice of the peace for the said shore, John Coffell, master of the sloop Nancy, who made oath on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, depose and sayeth, that on the twenty-ninth day of April last, being off Brewer's lagoon, in the sloop Nancy, whereof this deponent was master, at about ten o'clock at night he saw two sail to the north-east lying to with their heads to the northward; about eleven o'clock they tack-

ed,

ed, and the smallest of the sloops bore down and fired a gun, and brought the sloop Nancy to, and hailed, inquiring where they came from, and to where bound? in which they were answered. She had colours at her mast head, but this deponent could not distinguish of what nation: they immediately made for the large sloop, and in a little time she came and spoke to us, asking many questions, as, if we had any flour on board, and if there were any vessels at Black River, and how Bonaca bore, and many others that this deponent could not understand; the sloops kept close together, as if consulting, until about four o'clock on Tuesday morning, they dismissed this deponent; when he this deponent stood in for the land, the two sloops standing the same way under easy sail, and at daylight the large sloop hoisted a Dutch flag, the other answered with the same sort of colours, and directly they hauled them down and made sail for Black River, when this deponent bore away also for the same place; the two sloops anchored there, before this deponent could reach it; there was another sloop at anchor close without them, with English colours hoisted, which sloop this deponent has been since informed was the sloop Morning Star, David Miller master; this deponent passed close under the large sloop's stern, when they ordered him to bring to, and told him they were privateers; this deponent told them he would bring to when he should have room; at same time a launch full of men with small arms, &c. came and hooked the quarter-rail, but the vessel being under too much sail for the launch, the man who held the boat-hook was obliged to quit his hold, and leave the boat-hook behind; they then discharged several small arms; and desired the other sloop to fire on us; this deponent desired his people to lie low, when she discharged three or four cannon at the said sloop Nancy, at the same time cursing in the Spanish language: the sloop Nancy was presently out of their reach, and this deponent saw them presently board the sloop that had English colours, and saw them instantly hauled down; which sloop this deponent hath been since informed was the sloop Morning Star, David Miller master. By the whole behaviour of the two first mentioned sloops, this deponent verily believes them to be Spanish sloops. And further this deponent sayeth not.

JOHN COFFELL.

Sworn before me this 6th  
day of May 1776.

JOHN BOURKE.

I have examined the above deposition, and compared it with the original, and find it to be a true copy. JOHN BOURKE.

Some

Some notice having been taken in the public prints, of the facts contained in these papers, the following Recapitulation appeared, which it is thought necessary to subjoin :

THE capture of the Morning Star, belonging to Doctor Irving and myself, and my conduct in my application for redress having been greatly misrepresented, both in and out of Parliament, I submit the following state of facts to the public, who may then judge for themselves, how far any of their servants have been culpable ; and whether, in my appeal to Parliament, I have been guilty of that indecent hurry of which I am accused.

Lord Halifax, when secretary of state, in a letter to the governor of Jamaica, dated Dec. 9, 1763, says, " The Musquito shore is a British settlement, and as such is to be maintained and encouraged."

Lord Dartmouth sent instructions to the governor of Jamaica, in August 1775, for establishing a legislative council, on the Musquito shore, to be chosen by the inhabitants.

Dr. Irving and myself, induced by the above arrangement, sailed from Gravesend on the 13th of November 1775, with a design of settling on the Musquito shore, not entertaining the most distant suspicion, that our property would not be equally protected there as in any other part of the British dominions.

On the 30th of April last, the Morning Star was lying at anchor, under British colours, in the road of Black River, the principal settlement on the Musquito shore, and in sight of the King's house, and was there forcibly seized by two armed sloops under Dutch colours ; at the same time one of their boats chased the Nancy, a small sloop belonging to Black River : John Coffell, master of the Nancy, and Richard Burrell, who was a passenger in her, both deposed, that the boat was at one time so near as to hook the Nancy's quarter-rail, and that the crew were Spaniards ; every man who has ever seen a Spaniard, must know that they could not be mistaken.

The inhabitants of Black River, conscious that the Morning Star had never been employed in any illicit trade, were greatly alarmed ; they considered the capture as a direct attack on the colony, and applied to the superintendent to assemble the legislative council : that council, which (I am told) Lord North assured the House of Commons never existed, met,

met, advised the superintendant to send an express to Jamaica, with an account of this daring and unprecedented outrage, and laid a tax upon the colony, for defraying the expense.

The depositions of John Coffell, Richard Burrell, and some other persons who saw the transaction, were sent to the governor of Jamaica (the colony being at present an appendage to that government); but both the governor and admiral, for reasons best known to themselves, were of opinion, that the *Morning Star* was taken by North American privateers; and no step was taken to reclaim the vessel and seamen, until Doctor Irving arrived in Jamaica, on the 19th of September, and fortunately met with Frederick Sund, one of the seamen taken in the *Morning Star*, and who had escaped from Carthagena: this man made oath to all the particulars of the capture before Thomas French, *custos* and chief judge of the court of common pleas of Kingston in Jamaica.

The governor, unable to resist such positive proof, applied to admiral Gayton, who, after a delay of another month, sent a frigate to Carthagena, but positively refused to permit Doctor Irving to go in the frigate to assist the captain in his application for redress.

The Spanish governor, contrary, in all probability, to the wishes of Sir Basil Keith and admiral Gayton, acknowledged the capture, but said he had no power or authority to order restitution.

Having taken the earliest opportunity of returning to England, I got to London September 24, and next day presented a memorial to Lord George Germaine, with an attested estimate of the actual loss immediately sustained, amounting to 2659l. 12s. 10d. sterling, besides the total ruin of our project; his Lordship acquainted me with the opinion of Sir Basil Keith, that the *Morning Star* was taken by North American privateers. I shewed him the affidavits of John Coffell and Richard Burrell; but his Lordship chose to give more credit to the vague suspicion of the governor of Jamaica, than to my positive assurances, as a spectator of the transaction, supported by the clearest evidence the nature of the case would admit, or which there was at that time any probability of ever obtaining. His Lordship seemed extremely desirous of not making any immediate application to the court of Spain, and in deference to the critical situation of this country at that time (for the accounts of our successes in America were not then arrived), I did not then press the matter farther.

I received

I received Frederick Sund's affidavit on the 17th of December, and wrote immediately to Lord George Germaine, enclosing a copy of it. I saw his Lordship on the 19th, when he seemed still desirous of making further delays; but being pressed by me for redress, referred me to Lord Weymouth, to whose department he told me it belonged to make application to the court of Spain.

I saw Lord Weymouth by appointment soon after, who told me that the first knowledge he had of the affair was by a copy of Doctor Irving's petition to the governor of Jamaica, and of Frederick Sund's affidavit, transmitted to him from the Admiralty; that he had immediately sent them to Lord Grantham; that the papers which I had put into his hands should be sent that evening; and that as soon as any answer arrived from the court of Spain, it should be communicated to me: this last part of his Lordship's promise has never been performed; but I willingly impute the neglect to hurry of business.

The propriety of Lord Weymouth's conduct in the affair of Falkland's island makes it reasonable to suppose, that if the representations to the court of Spain, on the present occasion, have not been made with becoming spirit, it is not his Lordship's fault.

I am assured that Lord North told the House of Commons, that the Spanish minister denied any knowledge of the affair in the month of January. The Morning Star was taken on the 30th of April, and carried directly to Porto Bello and Carthagena. Can any man believe that a Spanish governor dared so long neglect informing his court of the capture of a British vessel in so unprecedented a manner?

Great pains have been taken to represent the whole affair as a complaint of a private injury, in order that administration might shelter themselves under the shallow pretence, that I did not continue to harass them with daily applications for redress from the 25th of September to the 17th of December; but this is by no means the case; the British flag has been insulted; British seamen have been made captives in the most barbarous and disgraceful manner, and the very existence of a colony, capable of being made equal to any in the West Indies, is at stake.

I conceive that I discharged my duty to the public, by communicating to his Majesty's ministers, as early as possible, all I knew of the matter; if the negotiation has languished

in their hands, it is to be hoped the day will arrive, when they shall be made answerable for it.

*Oxendon Street, March 4, 1777.*

ALEX. BLAIR \*.

\* The following answer was published to the above paper.

TO ALEXANDER BLAIR, Esq.

S I R,

YOU have appealed from the ministers to Parliament, and from Parliament to the people: An individual has, therefore, a right to ask you to explain certain terms in which your information is conveyed. You say, " Lord Dartmouth sent instructions to the governor of Jamaica, in August 1775, for establishing a legislative council on the Musquito shore, to be chosen by the inhabitants." If we are to understand by a legislative council, a council vested with the powers of legislation, and Lord Dartmouth really did send an instruction to the governor of Jamaica, to establish such a council on the Musquito shore, his Lordship is the first secretary of state that ever assumed the authority of establishing a legislature by an instruction. Hitherto there have been but three modes of constituting legislative bodies, known to the constitution; his Majesty's commission, or charter under the Great Seal, and an act of parliament: but you tell us of a more compendious mode than either; an instruction from a secretary of state. How very idle was it to apply to Parliament for authority to vest a governor and council with legislative powers in Quebec, when it seems the council alone might have been fully possessed of them by an instruction from a secretary of state; and this too in a place where there neither is or ever was a governor, or other person commissioned by his Majesty.

You call the settlements on the Musquito shore a colony. Can you tell us by whose authority this colony was established? Where is the charter or commission recorded that grants the soil and describes its boundaries? Has the crown ever granted a single acre of the lands? Or is there a man in the country that has a legal title to one inch of what he possesses or lays claim to? When you have answered these questions, and explained the nature of the legislative powers with which the council is vested by Lord Dartmouth's instruction, the public will be able to judge whether Lord North was right in refusing to allow the council chosen by the traders to the Musquito shore from among themselves, to be a legislative council, and to call settlements made without authority, and without a legal title, a colony.

AN INDIVIDUAL.

#### THE REPLY.

ALTHOUGH I do not think myself obliged to answer anonymous letters, I shall reply to this; declaring at the same time, that for the future I will not take the least notice of any letter to which the writer does not sign his name.

AN INDIVIDUAL begins with asking for some explanations, and afterwards proposes a long string of queries, with an exulting confidence, as if they were unanswerable.

In the first place, as to the legislative council, I assert, that during my residence on the Musquito shore, from the middle of February to the latter end of July last, there existed a council vested with the powers of legislation, and actually exercising those powers in consequence of instructions from Lord Dartmouth to the governor of Jamaica: if either Lord Dartmouth in sending such instructions, or the governor of Jamaica in executing them, exceeded their authority, it is their business to answer this point. The council consisted of the superintendent, appointed by the crown, who sat as president, and had a voice, but no negative, and of twelve persons, chosen (according to the instructions) by the inhabitants, to represent them for three years: this council likewise heard causes, by appeal, from the inferior courts of justice. Under these circumstances (notwithstanding the censure of AN INDIVIDUAL), I shall still continue to call it a legislative council:

oil: nor do I conceive it unconstitutional, or similar to the council of Quebec, which required an act of parliament to give it validity; in the one case the members are chosen by the people, who are to be bound by their acts; in the other, they are named by the crown, and removable at pleasure.

AN INDIVIDUAL asserts, that there never was on the Musquito shore a governor, or other person commissioned by his Majesty. My answer is, that ever since the year 1741, there has been a superintendant, with a salary of 500*l.* sterling a-year, an allowance of 500*l.* a-year for contingencies, and 300*l.* a-year for presents to the Indians, all paid by Great Britain; whether his commission is signed by the King, or by any other servant of the public authorized by the King, is very immaterial; but if that will not satisfy AN INDIVIDUAL, I must inform him, that a detachment of the 49th regiment was stationed on the Musquito shore, for upwards of twenty years; and that a regular commission of the peace has been issued, in his Majesty's name, under the great seal of the island of Jamaica, witnessed by the governor, from time to time.

AN INDIVIDUAL seems displeased with me for calling the Musquito shore "a colony." If he likes Lord Halifax's appellation better, he has my permission still to distinguish it by the name of "a British settlement;" all I wish to prove is, that such arrangements had been made respecting that country, as gave Doctor Irving and myself a right to expect that our property would be protected in it.

Notwithstanding the shyness of administration to assert the right of the nation to the Musquito shore, I am fully convinced that our title to that country is as clear, and unquestionable as our title to any of our other possessions in America. The Spaniards never had any footing on the Musquito shore. The country was voluntarily ceded to us, by the unconquered natives, in the reign of King Charles the First. This cession has been frequently confirmed; the Indians acknowledge themselves subject to the crown of Great Britain; their chiefs receive commissions from the governor of Jamaica, without which they are not allowed, even by their own people, to exercise any authority. Our title is confirmed by the famous treaty of 1670; nor is it impeached by that of 1763, unless by those who confound the Bay of Honduras with the Musquito shore, which are perfectly distinct.

The Musquito shore extends from Cape Honduras to the northern branch of the river by which the lake of Nicaragua discharges itself into the sea, being upwards of 500 miles in length; the breadth is various; but I believe I am well grounded in saying, that in almost the whole of this extent there is no Spanish settlement within an hundred miles of the sea. The country is well watered by many large rivers, and is very happily situated for producing cotton, indigo, rice, and many other valuable commodities. The face of the country is at present covered with immense forests of excellent timber, fit for ship-building, and other useful purposes.

AN INDIVIDUAL asks, what legal title any man on the Musquito shore has to the lands he possesses? Bred to arms, and having spent the best part of my life in that profession, I am not much acquainted with the nice distinctions of the law, but I will venture to assert, that in case the settlers on the Musquito shore have not a legal title to their lands, most of them have a just and equitable title. Government having never thought proper to establish any office, to which the settlers could apply for grants of land, it has been usual for them to apply to the Indian chief, in whose district they chose to settle, who, with the consent of his tribe, granted such lands as were wanted. These lands were entered on the records kept at Black River, and are considered as proofs that the settler had the consent of the neighbouring Indians. This, with possession, cultivation, and the consent of the King's officers in the settlement, is surely a sufficient title to satisfy AN INDIVIDUAL.

There are in Lord George Germaine's office authentic papers, containing the fullest information respecting the Musquito shore. If I have misrepresented any thing, it will be easy, by the help of these, to refute me.

Oxendon Street, March 13.

ALEX. BLAIR.

*Some account of the British settlement on the Musquito shore.—  
Drawn up for the use of government, in 1773.*

By BRYAN EDWARDS, Esq. of Jamaica.

HAVING the honour of a seat in his Majesty's council of this island, it has lately fallen to my lot to be nominated in a committee appointed to inquire into the rise of some disturbances and disputes among the British inhabitants on the Musquito shore. In this capacity many letters and papers of importance have been submitted to my inspection, and sundry examinations of persons taken before me; from whence, and from other very authentic and well-selected information, communicated to me by some intelligent friends who resided many years on the spot \*, I have stated the following particulars, which I trust, not only prove, beyond all contradiction, the right of the British crown to the sovereignty of this delightful and most valuable country, but also shew that such advantages will necessarily result to our revenues, commerce, and navigation, from its further settlement and improvement; such easy channels be opened from our possession of it, of attacking the Spanish dominions in time of war, and such grateful returns be made to the private adventurer, for whatever sums may be expended in its cultivation, as well deserve the most serious attention of government. Left, however, it should be supposed that my duty, as one of his Majesty's council, requires me to suppress every information which I have received on this occasion, I think it necessary to premise, that I have stated no one fact or circumstance, but what is of public concern to the inhabitants of Great Britain, and of common notoriety on the Musquito shore.—But tho' I have strictly observed this rule throughout the whole of this paper, I think myself, at the same time, free to declare, that, neither in my capacity above mentioned, or otherwise, have I yet met with any information, reasoning, or occurrence whatever, which either ought to, or can, in the smallest degree, invalidate or weaken the account which I am about to give.

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\* For the description which follows of the country, and its native inhabitants, I am principally indebted to the Rev. Mr. W\*\*\*\* who resided some years on the Musquito shore, and which I give chiefly in his own words, because I cannot hope to add perspicuity or force to his very satisfactory and elegant account.

With



With this plea I proceed ;—and first, in regard to the right which Great Britain has to the dominion of this country, the following facts appear to me to be clear and incontrovertible :—namely, that the native Indians of this country have never been conquered by, nor did they ever submit to, the Spanish government ;—that the Spaniards had never any settlement among them ;—that, during the course of upwards of one hundred years, they have maintained a strict and uninterrupted alliance and friendship with the subjects of Great Britain ;—that they have made a free and formal cession of the dominion of their country to his Majesty's predecessors, acknowledging the King of Great Britain for their sovereign, before the American treaty concluded at Madrid in 1670 ;—that this cession of the Indians to the British crown was accepted on behalf of the King of Great Britain, has been frequently, and very formally repeated by the natives ;—and finally, that this accumulation of British right was not impaired by the last treaty of peace. These positions, I say, appear to me to be certain and indisputable.

The two first are admitted by the Spaniards themselves. In regard to the next, namely, the alliance of the natives with the subjects and crown of Great Britain, and their submission to its government, previous to 1670 ; the following circumstances, which I presume may be abundantly confirmed by original papers, now in the plantation office, are recorded by Sir Hans Sloane, who was himself present in Jamaica, when the Musquito king, in person, applied to the Duke of Albemarle, governor of that island, in the reign of James the Second, to renew his allegiance, and to crave protection. “ The memorial and substance (says Sir Hans) of what he (the Musquito king) and the people with him, represented to the Duke of Albemarle was, that in the reign of Charles the First, the Earl of Warwick, by virtue of letters of reprisal, possessed himself of several islands in the West Indies, particularly that of Providence (since called by the Spaniards St. Catalina), which is situated in 13° 10' N. lat. lying east from Cape Gracias-a-Deos (vulgarly known by the name of the Musquitos) between 30 and 40 leagues ; which put the said Earl upon all ways and means of future correspondence with the natives of the said Cape and neighbouring country, and in some little time he was so successful as to gain that point, and prevailed with them so far as to persuade them to send home the king's son, leaving one of his people as hostage for him,

him, which was Colonel Morris, now living at New York. The Indian prince going home with the said Earl, staid in England three years, in which time the Indian king died, and the natives having in that time had intercourse and commerce with those of Providence, were soon made sensible of the grandeur of his Majesty of Great Britain, and how necessary his protection was to them; and upon the return of the said Indian prince, they persuaded him to resign up his authority and power over them, and with them unanimously declare themselves the subjects of his said Majesty of Great Britain, in which opinion (continues Sir Hans) they have ever since persisted, and do own no other supreme command over them." (Hist. of Jamaica, 1st edit. vol. i. p. 76.)

In the month of June 1670, the famous American treaty was signed at Madrid, of which the 7th article stands as follows:

"The King of Great Britain, his heirs and successors, shall have, hold, and possess, for ever, with full right of sovereign dominion, property, and possession, all lands, countries, islands, colonies, and dominions whatever, situated in the West Indies, *or in any part of America*, which the said King of Great Britain, and his subjects, do at this present hold and possess; so that in regard thereof, or upon any colour or pretence whatever, nothing may, or ought, ever to be urged, nor any question or controversy moved, concerning the same hereafter." Let us now refer to the last treaty of peace, of which the 17th article is as follows: "His Britannic Majesty shall cause to be demolished all the fortifications which his subjects shall have erected *in the Bay of Honduras, and other places of the territory of Spain*, in that part of the world, within four months after the ratification of this treaty, &c."

From ignorance, as it would seem, that the first of these articles ever existed, or from some most unaccountable misapprehension and misconstruction of the second, has solely arisen any doubt of his Majesty's just right to the sovereignty of this country; for it must be remembered that the Musquito shore is no part of the Bay of Honduras, nor was it ever esteemed as such by the Spaniards themselves, as plainly appears by every chart of this coast in use among them. The Bay or Gulf of Honduras extends from C. Catoche, in N. lat. 21° 0', W. long. 86° 20' (reckoning from London), to Cape Honduras, in lat. N. 16° and W. long. 85° 55'. From Cape Honduras to the northern branch or mouth of the lake Nicaragua,

Nicaragua, commonly called St. John's River, in lat. about  $10^{\circ} 25'$ , lies the sea coast of the country commonly called the Musquito shore; a country on which the Spaniards never had any footing, claim of occupancy, or possession, from the beginning of the world to this day. If they had, they relinquished it by the first of the foregoing articles; for the native Indians of this country, who had happily preserved their freedom and independency amidst the general carnage and desolation which the Spaniards had spread over the territories around them, had already applied for, and obtained, the British protection; acknowledging the King of England for their sovereign; as we have already shewn: so that in fact they were included in the very words of the above article; being at that time, to all intents and purposes, subjects of the British crown. This their submission to the sovereignty of Great Britain, was not only most solemnly renewed, by the Musquito king in person, to the Duke of Albemarle, when governor of Jamaica, as before stated; but it is a fact not to be denied, that they have made it a point to give to almost every succeeding governor, fresh assurances of their allegiance: in consequence of which, Great Britain did, for upwards of a century, afford them protection; and has for many years constantly distributed annual presents among their native chieftains.—In the year 1741, a regular establishment of troops, under the command of a superintendant, was fixed there; and an administration of justice, by magistrates and courts of quarter session, was constituted in 1744, which continued to subsist under the auspices of government, till the last peace, when the troops and military stores were removed, and orders given to dismount the guns, and dismantle the fortifications which our people had built, for the protection of themselves and their faithful friendly allies the native Indians, who were now to be exposed to the implacable resentment of a power from which they had every thing to dread, and by which, but for our protection, they had long ago been exterminated. These impolitic orders were evidently grounded on a most unaccountable notion, that the Musquito shore was part of the Bay of Honduras; an astonishing instance of inattention, to call it by no harsher name. As it is no part of the Bay of Honduras, so neither is it any part “of the territory of Spain in that part of the world;” for, admitting the Spanish claim of prediscovery of the whole of this coast, aided as it was by the benevolent grant of Pope Alexander the Sixth, and admitting even (which I have shewn is not the case) that

the subjects of England had no intercourse with this country previous to the conclusion of the American treaty in 1670, will it be pretended, in a nation so enlightened as ours, that circumstances of this kind are sufficient to justify the pretensions of the Spanish crown to enslave a free people, who, if not the subjects of Great Britain, are, by the laws of God, and the unerring dictates of human nature, free, at this day, to yield allegiance to what power they please?

Having thus briefly shewn, that the right of Great Britain to the sovereign dominion of this country is founded on the best of all titles, namely, the unrestrained and spontaneous consent of its free and ancient inhabitants, I shall now give the best account I am able of the country itself.

The sea coast, as before described, extends from Cape Honduras to the northern branch of the Nicaragua, or St. John's River, a space of one hundred and eighty leagues; and if the distant mountains which bound the Spanish territories behind, be considered as the inland line, Great Britain possesses an extent of country here, more than half as large as the kingdom of Portugal.

Of the present British settlements, the three principal are *Black River*, about twenty-six leagues nearly east from Cape Honduras; *Cape Gracias-a-Dios* in lat.  $14^{\circ} 54'$ , about fifty-four leagues nearly E. S. E. from Black River; and *Blewfields*, about seventy leagues, nearly south, from Cape Gracias-a-Dios.

From Blewfields to Black River the country is generally flat for many miles from the sea-coast; but it rises into hills much sooner to the westward of Black River, and to the southward of Blewfields.

Every variety of animal and vegetable nature for use or beauty, for food or luxury, has been most liberally bestowed on this country. It is every where plentifully watered; and the soil is almost every where fertile in a very uncommon degree, and capable of producing, in the utmost perfection, whatever is produced between the tropics. The cotton bush, the cocoa or chocolate nut, and veneloes, flourish spontaneously all over the country. Indigo, too, is a native, and appears to be of the same sort with that of the neighbouring province of Guatimal, which is accounted the best of any. The sugar-cane arrives here to as great perfection as in any of the islands; and the quantity of mahogany and sarsaparilla annually exported from hence to Great Britain, renders the settlement already an object of no small importance in the scale of

of her commerce and navigation. The rivers and coasts abound with excellent fish; and the finest turtle, both for food and shell, is found here in greater plenty than in any part of the known world. To which it may be added, and it is a circumstance of no small utility in an infant settlement, that the mouths of many of the principal rivers produce a prodigious quantity of oysters, both of the mangrove and flat species; of the latter sort, there are banks that appear inexhaustible; so that, with regard to food, the inhabitants of this country seem almost to be exempted from the general curse entailed on our first parents.

In 1770, there were, exclusive of the natives, about 1400 inhabitants, subjects of Great Britain, of whom 206 were whites, about as many more of mixed blood, and about 900 slaves. Of these, 136 whites, 112 mixtures, and about 600 slaves; were at, or within a few miles of Black River; which however is, in almost every view, one of the most ineligible situations for a capital; and, indeed, it became the first settlement, chiefly on account of what causes this ineligibility; its nearness to one extremity of the shore, and there being only about six feet water on its bar, having rendered this river the readiest and safest retreat for our logwood cutters, who were driven from the Bay of Honduras in 1730.

Blewfields has very greatly the advantage over Black River in several respects, and bids fair to become a place of importance. There is generally twelve or thirteen feet water at the entrance into the harbour. The Bluff, an extensive rocky eminence, of very easy defence, has naturally almost every requisite for a town; and presents so bold a bank to the harbour, that vessels of any burden may lie close to it when they load; and several noble rivers, after having watered some of the richest land, perhaps, in the world, empty themselves in the vast lagoon, of which this harbour is part. But it is full of worms, and much too far to the southward.

The harbour of Cape Gracias-a-Dios is formed by an arm of the sea, large enough to hold the navy of Great Britain, and open only from E. by S. to S. S. W. from which points the wind seldom blows there. The inhabitants live on the edge of a very large savanna, perpetually covered with the most fattening pasturage, and bounding on the river *Wanks*, which arises very near the South Sea, and after successively passing the Spaniards, Indians friendly to the Spaniards, Indians friendly to us, and Musquito Indians, rolls over a shallow bar into the sea at this cape.

The

The strength of current, and various course of this river, and many other obstructions to measurement of distance, make it very difficult to ascertain the breadth of the continent; but mules have been brought down to the cape from a place supposed to be considerably more than a hundred leagues up the river, from whence it is said to be only two days ride through the woods to the Spanish city of Leon.

There are several small settlements between this cape and Blewfields, and one still farther to the southward.

The Musquito Indians, properly so called, and who have been so justly remarkable for their fixed hereditary hatred of the Spaniards, and attachment to us, were formerly very numerous; but they were much reduced some years ago by the small-pox. Their present number is from seven to ten thousand fighting men, formed into different tribes, both by nature and policy; by nature, from the general distinction of pure Indians and Samboes; by policy, as living and acting under several chieftains, called king, governor, general, and admiral, each of whom has a different territory, and nearly independent jurisdiction, though the king has an imperfectly defined supremacy both in power and dominion.

The general's people are Samboes, and stretch from Black River to near Cape Gracias-a-Dios. The king's chief residence is about twelve leagues south of the Cape; his people are also Samboes, and his immediate precinct reaches to the Cape, and runs far up the country. The governor's precinct joins to the king's, and extends between twenty and thirty leagues to the southward, till it meets the admiral's. The people under these chieftains are pure Indians.

The Samboes are supposed to derive their origin from a Guinea ship, which, it is said, was wrecked on the coast above a century ago. Certain it is, that their hair, complexion, features, and make, clearly prove an African ancestry; from whom they have also inherited some of the worst characteristics of the worst African mind; for they are generally false, designing, treacherous, knavish, impudent, and revengeful.

The pure Indians are so called, because they are free from any mixture of negro blood; and their general conduct gives a very favourable idea of Indian nature. They are seldom guilty of positive evil, and often rise to positive good, when positive good does not require much exertion of mind. Their modesty, docility, good faith, disposition to friendliness and gratitude, ought to engage equally our regard and protection;

protection; for the same virtues that render them amiable, will be likely to bring on their destruction from the enterprising ambition of the Samboes.

The proper management of those heterogeneous people, watching over, guiding, and tempering the Sambo restlessness, and giving encouragement and activity to the inoffensive but indolent disposition of the pure Indians, seem to be some of the most important objects of our policy.

The British settlers have hitherto been employed chiefly in cutting mahogany, digging sarsaparilla, getting tortoise-shell, and purchasing skins from the Indians; of which the far greater part has been shipped to England in British vessels. The exports in 1769 were about 800,000 superficial feet of mahogany, 200,000lb. of sarsaparilla, and 10,000lb. of tortoise-shell. There is also a small trade with the bordering Spaniards, and a few mules are occasionally sent to Jamaica.

But a little encouragement would soon rouse a more extensive and liberal spirit; the spirit of cultivation; which, even in the present state of the colony, has begun to exert itself with the fairest appearance of success; a little industry would soon discover an almost inexhaustible variety of woods, gums, and dyes, and the country abounds in very valuable ship-timber.

Much, however, remains still to be done, before much benefit can be derived, either to the colony or to the mother-country, from what has been done already. Of the motives which have hitherto prevented the British ministry from giving form and permanency to the settlement, and affording it that open countenance and full support, under which it would certainly and rapidly rise to a place of the first importance, it becomes me, perhaps, to pronounce with caution; but I hope I shall not offend in observing that the dubious and unavowed plan of conduct, with which government has conducted itself, in regard to this colony, ever since the conclusion of the last peace, neither tends to its speedy increase, nor much redounds to the honour and dignity of a great and powerful nation. Either the native Indians have purchased our protection, by the cession of their country, and an uninterrupted allegiance of upwards of a century, or they have not. If they have, and the contract was reciprocal; if the fullest protection and support was repeatedly promised them, on the part, and by the authority, of the British crown; if, in consequence thereof, they have hitherto received our people

ple with open arms, have constantly encouraged and assisted them to the utmost of their power, always considering our enemies as theirs; if, by these means, they have incurred the implacable resentment, not only of the Spanish nation, but also of many powerful Indian tribes, in alliance with that crown, and entailed inevitable destruction on themselves and their children, in case we now desert them; and finally, if the many advantages above stated, are likely to accrue to our commerce and navigation, from the possession of this country; if these, I say, - are facts notorious (and no person, I am persuaded, who has any knowledge of the subject, will attempt to prove the contrary), it will, perhaps, be difficult to assign a reason which bears even the colour of plausibility, for the neglect and disregard which is now shewn to these poor, friendless, and affectionate people, and to the interests of the British settlers among them, who indeed are now daily decreasing, and, if the present system with regard to them is much longer pursued, must either quit the country, or perish in the ruin that seems to await them.

Considered in every point of view, the desertion of this colony appears impolitic and extraordinary. The easy means of attacking the Spanish dominions in time of war, and even shaking her vast empire in South America to the foundation, by the way of the lake of Nicaragua, afford so mighty a prospect of conquest, wealth, and glory to the British arms, that I cannot persuade myself government has ever been rightly informed in a circumstance of so great importance. I have been assured, if I am not greatly deceived in my recollection, that a vessel of thirty tons has sailed up to the entrance of this lake, which very vessel afterwards made a voyage to Jamaica. From the interior boundary of the lake to the nearest part of the South Sea coast, the distance does not exceed ten or twelve leagues, through a level country: it is true, indeed, the entrance into the river, from the harbour of St. John's, is somewhat obstructed by a bar, on which there are only five feet water; but the inconveniency resulting from hence, may be cured surely in a great measure, in case an armament is sent here, by constructing the transport vessels for conveying troops up the lake with flat bottoms. The harbour above mentioned, called St. John's, is very capable of containing from ten to fifteen ships of war, with shallow water-births of about three fathom; and there is room enough for an hundred sail of transports besides, which will



will lie perfectly secure from the north and south winds, the only dangerous winds on the coast.

The harbour of Cape Gracias-a-Dios has been mentioned already: but the finest harbour in all the continent, from Honduras to Porto Bello, is undoubtedly the *Boca-del-Tora*; a place not only capable of containing the whole navy of Great Britain with good anchorage throughout, but which has within it many excellent harbours, sheltered from the wind at every point of the compass; it commands a tract of country one hundred miles in extent, and joins a lagoon, called the *Cherrique* lagoon. The rivers that empty themselves into this lagoon are indeed little known to any people except our Musquito Indians, who say they have traced some of them quite back to the Spanish settlements. They aver, that there is a lagoon on the South Sea coast, right opposite to the *Cherrique* lagoon, and that these lagoons have a communication with each other, by means of some of the rivers above mentioned: certain it is, that from a hill on the interior banks of the *Cherrique* lagoon, there is a spacious prospect of both seas. The navigation into the harbour we are now speaking of, will be attended with no kind of difficulty to ships of the largest tonnage, the smallest depth being five fathom.

But the lake of Nicaragua, beyond all dispute, presents the most obvious and certain channel of attacking the Spaniards with success in the richest of their South American settlements; and for this reason alone, if for no other, it is humbly insisted, the possession of the Musquito shore is an object of the greatest importance to Great Britain;—I was going to add, *of more value than even the possession of Gibraltar itself.*

B. EDWARDS.

*Jamaica, 10th Nov. 1773.*



During this session, the following bill passed the House of Commons ; but was postponed by the House of Lords for subsequent consideration. We have inserted it by desire.

*A Bill, intituled, An Act for procuring Accounts of all charitable Donations for the Benefit of poor Persons, in the several Parishes and Places within that Part of Great Britain called England\*.*

**W**HEREAS it is proper that the legislature, who are extending their inquiries into the state and condition of the poor, should be informed of the several charitable donations for the use and benefit of poor persons ; which information cannot be effectually obtained without the aid and assistance of Parliament :

May it therefore please your Majesty,

That it may be enacted ; and be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that a sufficient number of printed copies of this act shall, as soon as conveniently may be after the passing hereof, be transmitted by George White, Esq. one of the clerks of the House of Commons, to the clerks of the peace of every county, riding, division, city, liberty, and place having clerks of the peace, in England and Wales ; and that the said several clerks of the peace shall, and they are hereby required, with all convenient speed, to cause a sufficient number of the Schedule, to this Act annexed, to be printed, and delivered, together with a printed copy of this act, to every high constable, or, where there shall be no high constable, to such other proper officer, who hath the execution of precepts from justices of the peace, within such respective jurisdictions ; and also to the town clerk, or other proper officer, of every city, borough, or place, and also to receive the answers and returns

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\* This copy includes the Lords' alterations.

made by the minister and churchwardens, pursuant to the directions herein after given, and transmit such answers and returns to the clerk of the Parliaments, with all convenient speed, in order that the same may be inspected by the members of both Houses of Parliament, upon pain of forfeiting for every neglect and default a sum not exceeding ten pounds, nor less than five pounds.

And be it further enacted, That the said several high constables, town clerks, or other proper officers so described as aforesaid, shall receive from the said clerks of the peace the said printed schedules, as soon as conveniently may be, and attend two or more of the justices of peace acting within their respective limits, with some of the said printed schedules, and at the same time produce and shew to them the said printed act, in order that they may appoint a convenient time and place for the meeting herein after directed; and the justices are hereby required to appoint the same, and to sign the precept contained in the said schedule, as herein after mentioned; and every justice signing such precept, shall receive one of the said printed schedules; and the said high constables, town clerks, or other proper officers, after receiving such precept, shall fill up the blanks in the precept in every schedule, directing the time and place for the meeting, in like manner as they shall be filled up by the justices, and shall, with all convenient speed, deliver, or cause to be delivered, one such schedule to the rector, vicar, or officiating minister, and also to the churchwarden or churchwardens, chapelwarden or chapelwardens, in every parish, township, or place, within their respective limits; and, in places where there shall be no minister, churchwarden, or chapelwarden, to the overseers or overseer of the poor, if any; and if there shall be no such overseer, to some substantial householder residing within the same; and the said high constables, town clerks, or other proper officers, shall sign their names at the foot of the precept contained in the said schedule, under the words there written for that purpose, before they deliver the same, and shall attend the said respective meetings, and then and there produce the said act, and receive the several answers and returns made by the minister and churchwardens, and indorse upon the back of each of them the name of the hundred, rape, wapentake, lathe, precinct, soke, franchise, liberty, city, town, or county corporate, wherein the parish, township, or place therein mentioned is situate, and transmit the same, together with a true and perfect list of the names of the minister and churchwardens,

wardens, overseer, or householder, of every parish, township, or place, to whom such schedules had been delivered by them respectively as aforesaid, to the several clerks of the peace at the then next Michaelmas quarter-sessions of the peace or the adjournment thereof (which adjournment the justices at such Michaelmas quarter-sessions are required to make, to some convenient day within one calendar month after such Michaelmas quarter-sessions, in cases where any such returns shall not be made at the said Michaelmas quarter-sessions); and every such high constable, town clerk, or other proper officer, shall forfeit for every default or neglect in the premises, a sum not exceeding ten pounds, nor less than five pounds.

And be it further enacted, That the several justices of the peace, within their respective jurisdictions in England and Wales, to whom such schedule shall have been delivered, as aforesaid, shall, as soon as conveniently may be after receiving the same, and seeing this act, appoint a time and place, or times and places, which time or times shall be before the fifteenth day of September, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven, for the rector or vicar, or, in their absence, for the officiating minister and churchwardens or chapelwardens, or for the overseer or substantial householder, as aforesaid, within their respective jurisdictions, to attend them at such meeting or meetings, for the purposes of this act, with returns and answers to the questions stated in the said schedule; and two or more of the said justices shall and are hereby required to cause notice in writing to be given of such meeting to such minister and churchwardens or chapelwardens, overseer or householder respectively by their precept, as herein before directed, twenty-eight days at least before the day to be appointed for such meeting, requiring their attendance at such meeting, for the purposes of this act; which precept shall be in the form or to the effect contained in the said schedule.

And be it further enacted, That the minister and churchwardens, overseer, or householder, as aforesaid, of every such parish, township, and place, shall, and are hereby required to attend the justices of the peace at such meeting or meetings, and then and there deliver to the said justices, in writing, signed by them, upon oath, a just and true account of all charitable donations for the benefit of poor persons within their respective parishes or places, distinguishing, as far as may be, by whom, when, and in what manner, and for what purpose given; likewise whether such respective donations were in land or money, and in whom now vested, and what is

the annual produce thereof respectively, by way of answer and return to the said questions, as before directed; and that every minister and churchwarden, overseer, or householder, as aforesaid, making default in any of the matters hereby required, shall, for every such neglect or default, forfeit a sum not exceeding ten pounds, nor less than five pounds, at the discretion of the justice or justices before whom complaint thereof shall be made: and in order to enable the said minister and churchwardens, overseers, or householders, to make proper answers and returns, they are hereby authorized and empowered to call for and inspect any deed, will, instrument, or other writing, relating to such charitable donations, or any copy thereof, where the original cannot be had, which shall respectively be in the custody of any person or persons to whom application shall be made for that purpose, and to make extracts of such part or parts thereof respectively as shall be necessary for the purposes of this act; and in case any person or persons, to whom any such application shall be made, shall refuse or neglect to permit such inspection, copies, or extracts to be made, the said minister and churchwardens, overseers and householders, shall make complaint thereof to the justices at their said meeting, which justices shall forthwith summon the person or persons, against whom such complaint shall be made, to appear before them at a time and place to be appointed for that purpose by such summons, before the then next Michaelmas quarter-sessions, to which time and place such meeting of the justices shall be adjourned, and to produce before the justices at such meeting, such deed, will, or other instrument, or copy thereof, or shew cause to the contrary; at which meeting the minister, churchwardens, overseers, and householders respectively, making such complaint, shall attend; and if such deed, will, instrument, or copy, shall be produced, the said minister and churchwardens, overseers and householders, respectively, shall then and there inspect the same for the purposes of this act; but if the same shall not be produced, nor any sufficient cause shewn to the contrary, to the satisfaction of such justices, every person or persons concealing or withholding the same shall forfeit a sum not exceeding ten pounds, nor less than five pounds, at the discretion of the justice or justices before whom complaint thereof shall be so made.

And be it further enacted, That the said justices of the peace shall, and they are hereby also required, at such meeting or meetings so to be appointed by them as aforesaid, to receive and take the answers and returns to be made by

the minister and churchwardens, overseers and householders respectively, pursuant to the directions aforesaid, and then and there administer to them respectively the oath contained in the said schedule; and such justices, if they see cause, may examine such minister and churchwardens, overseers and householders respectively upon oath, touching any of the matters contained in such questions and answers; and the said justices shall then deliver such answers and returns to the respective high constables, town clerks, or other proper officers, as aforesaid, in order that the same may be by them transmitted to the clerks of the peace, as herein is directed.

And be it further enacted, That there shall be paid and allowed for the trouble and expenses of the several persons employed in the transactions aforesaid, for every return which shall be so made and transmitted to the clerks of the peace, pursuant to the directions aforesaid, the sums following, and no more; (*viz.*) to the clerk of the peace, for the return which shall be made from every parish, township, or place, the sum of one shilling; to the high constable, town clerk, or the other proper officer, for the like, the sum of one shilling; to the clerks of the justices of the peace, for the like, the sum of sixpence; and that the justices of the peace, at their respective quarter sessions which shall be held next after Michaelmas, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven, shall, and are hereby required to make an order upon their respective treasurers, to pay the same out of the rates to be made and collected for the respective counties, ridings, divisions, precincts, fokes, franchises, liberties, cities, towns, and counties corporate.

And be it further enacted, That the several forfeitures and penalties inflicted by this act shall, if not immediately paid, be levied by distress and sale of the offender's goods and chattels, by virtue of a warrant under the hand and seal of any justice of the peace having jurisdiction where such offender shall dwell, rendering to the said offender the overplus (if any) after the charge of such distress and sale shall be deducted; and in case sufficient distress shall not be found, then it shall be lawful for such justice to commit such offender to the common gaol, there to remain without bail or mainprize for a term not exceeding twelve calendar months, nor less than six calendar months, at the discretion of such justice, unless the said forfeiture and charges shall be sooner paid; and the said forfeitures, when recovered, shall be paid and applied one half to the informer, and the other half to the said respective

treasurers, in aid of the rates aforesaid ; and any person shall be deemed a competent witness for the execution of any of the purposes of this act, notwithstanding his paying, or being liable to pay to such rates.

## SCHEDULE.

**QUESTIONS**, to which *Answers are to be returned by virtue of an act passed in the seventeenth year of his Majesty King George the Third, intituled, "An act for procuring accounts of all charitable donations for the benefit of poor persons, in the several parishes and places within that part of Great-Britain called England."*

### FIRST QUESTION.

**WHAT** charitable donations are there, for the benefit of poor persons, within your parish (or place) ; by whom, when, in what manner, and for what particular purpose, were they given, to the best of your knowledge, information, and belief ?

### SECOND QUESTION.

Were the respective donations in land or money ; in whom are they now vested ; and what is the annual produce thereof, respectively ?

### FORM of the OATH.

**YOU** shall swear, that the answers and return now made by you, to the questions contained in the Schedule hereunto annexed, is a full and true answer to the said questions, to the best of your knowledge, information, and belief.

### THE RETURN TO BE ANNEXED TO THE SCHEDULE.

*To be indorsed by the high constable, town clerk, or other proper officer, receiving the returns from the justices.*

**A**NSWERS returned to the questions in the schedule annexed, from the parish (or place) of \_\_\_\_\_ in the hundred, rape, wapentake, lathe, precinct, soke, franchise, liberty, city, town, or county corporate, of \_\_\_\_\_ (as the case shall be), the \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_

Precept



Precept to the high constable, &c. appointing a day and place for taking the answers and returns, and requiring the attendance of the minister and churchwardens.

to wit. } *To the constable, or town clerk, of                      or  
within the hundred (riding, division, liberty, city,  
town, as the case shall be) of                      in the said  
county, in order to carry into execution an act made  
in the seventeenth year of the reign of his Majesty  
King George the Third, for procuring returns of all  
charitable donations for the benefit of poor persons.*

**YOU** are hereby required, with all convenient speed, to give, or cause to be given, notice to the rectors and vicars, or officiating ministers, of every parish within your district aforesaid; and in places where there shall be no minister or churchwarden, to the overseer or overseers of the poor; and if no overseer, to some substantial inhabitant of such place, by delivering to each of them a printed copy of the Schedule to the said act, with the time and place for the meeting filled up in the Precept, as herein appointed, that they are required to appear at                      on the                      day of                      next, at the hour of                      in the forenoon, then and there to deliver upon oath, a just and true account of all charitable donations for the benefit of poor persons within their respective parishes or places; distinguishing, as far as may be, by whom, when, and in what manner, and for what purposes given; likewise whether such respective donations were in land or money, and in whom now vested, and what is the annual produce thereof respectively; on pain of forfeiting a sum not exceeding ten pounds, nor less than five pounds, for every neglect and default; and that they are authorized and empowered by the said act to call for, and inspect, any deed, will, or instrument, or other writing, relating to such charitable donations, or any copy thereof where the original cannot be had, which shall respectively be in the custody of any person or persons to whom they shall make application for that purpose, and to make extracts of such part or parts thereof respectively as shall be necessary for the purposes of the said act; and that in case

any person or persons, to whom any such application shall be made, shall refuse or neglect to permit such inspections, copies, or extracts, to be made, the said minister, churchwardens, or such other persons aforesaid, are to make complaint thereof to the justices at the said meeting, who are by the said act to summon such persons to produce the same before them at a time and place to be appointed, when and where the said minister, churchwardens, or other persons making such complaint, are to attend: and if the person against whom such complaint shall be made, does not produce the same, or shew good cause for his refusal, to the satisfaction of the justices, he is to forfeit a sum not exceeding ten pounds, nor less than five pounds. Given under our hands, the                      day of                      in the year of our Lord

The above precept contains the notice which I am directed to give to you.

*N. B.* The high constables, town clerks, or other proper officers, before they deliver the Schedules, are required to fill up the blanks which shew the appointment of the day and place for the meeting, in the manner they are filled up by the justices who sign the precept.

*Observations*

*Observations on the returns made by the overseers of the poor, by virtue of an Act of the last session ; and on the Bill for procuring returns of charitable donations for the benefit of poor persons.*

THE legislature, by virtue of an act of the last session of Parliament, have procured an account of the money raised by the poor's rates within the year ending at Easter 1776, which amount to no less than £. 1,720,316. 14s. 7d. including £. 37,656. 10s. 8d. applied out of that sum for the purpose of passing vagrants, and other county expenses ; £. 80,296. 14s. 7d. for the rent of workhouses, and other houses for the poor ; and £. 35,072 for the expenses of litigations ; which account has been abstracted, and is now printing for the use of the members of both Houses of Parliament.

The sum thus raised upon the landed property of this kingdom (for personal estates contribute very little to it) is enormous : but it is to be lamented, that these very ample provisions do not administer that comfort and convenience to the poor, which might justly be expected from them ; many of the most necessitous and industrious being exposed to want and distress, whilst the idle and profligate find means of obtaining their support from this money.

When the charities given for the benefit of the poor shall be inquired into, they will be found to be very considerable ; and, if faithfully applied for the purposes directed by the donors, will be the means of affording relief and support to great numbers of poor persons, and in their consequences of easing the poor's rates : but it is apprehended, that many of them are either concealed, or very much perverted ; and it too frequently happens, that where there are the greatest charities, idle persons are induced to procure settlements in those places, that they may be entitled to the benefit of them, and by that means, instead of diminishing, increase the poor's rates.

From these several circumstances it appears, that there is something capitally defective in the laws and police of this country, with respect to the relief and employment of the poor ; for which, it is hoped, some speedy remedy will be provided. Many attempts for that purpose have been made, but hitherto without effect : perhaps nothing can

contribute more to the success of any future endeavours, than a perfect state of the grievance.

With regard to the poor supported by parochial levies, the expenses, in every parish and place within England and Wales, will appear from the returns already procured; and by the bill now depending in Parliament, the like returns will be had of all charitable donations, for the benefit of poor persons, within every such parish and place.

When those several returns shall be completed, noblemen and gentlemen will be enabled to trace the burdens of the poor under the rates, and also the charitable donations, into the several parishes and places where their estates lie; and will be naturally led to inquire how those great sums have been employed.

If any charities shall appear not to have been applied to the purposes for which they were given, it is not doubted but means will be found to compel the defaulters to a due application, according to the intent of the several donors; which may be the means of reviving many charities, now sunk and lost, by the death of trustees, or otherwise; and of correcting some abuses which may have crept into many others, by misapplications; and also of affording relief to many distressed families, who modestly conceal their necessities; and moreover may ultimately tend to reduce the poor's levies.

This bill is proposed to be executed and enforced by the justices of peace, clerks of the peace, high constables, ministers and churchwardens, much in the same manner as that of the last sessions, for procuring returns from the overseers of the poor; and as the forms of the proceedings are fixed by the Schedule, it will be done with little trouble, and at a very moderate expense, considering the magnitude of the object.

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